

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1875

The Week.

MR. WILLIAM WELSH, of Philadelphia, a well-known merchant, and a former member of the Indian Commission, has been writing a very unpleasant letter to the President about Secretary Delano. It will be remembered that two distinct lines of defence were adopted by the Indian Bureau when the charges of fraud began to be made against them—that is, Commissioner Smith fell back on his Christian character, and Mr. Delano tried to discredit his assailants. In a moment of fatuity, the latter tried to pooh-pooh Professor Marsh by calling him “a Mr. Marsh,” and since then he has brought charges of by-gone drunkenness against Mr. Walker, the confidential clerk of the first Board of Commissioners, who first drew attention to a few frauds. Mr. Welsh now takes up Mr. Walker's defence, and talks in a licentious and unbridled manner about the worthy Delano. In the first place, he bears the strongest testimony to Mr. Walker's character, and to the accuracy of his charges, and then says the attack on him is a malicious libel got up by Secretary Delano and his Assistant Secretary Cowen. He then hints that the President would have done well to let Delano go when charges were first made against him, and that he was kept in and “allowed to leave his Department in charge of subordinates for months together that he might canvass the country and secure his [Grant's] re-election to the Presidency,” and he demands that the papers in his (Welsh's) possession shall be examined by some of the President's friends in Philadelphia, to see whether Messrs. Cowen and Delano have not been guilty of a criminal libel. In fact, it is evident not only that Mr. Welsh “feels unkindly” towards Mr. Delano, and thinks meanly of him, but that Mr. Delano would, if he were not “under fire,” be in great danger of removal. Mr. Cowen has undertaken to reply to Mr. Welsh's charges, the gist of his argument being that Mr. Welsh has, down to the present time, denied having any knowledge of Indian frauds, or, in other words, that he has “slept on” the matter too long for us to believe him now, and is, in fact, a thorough scoundrel and falsifier, engaged in a damnable conspiracy to blacken the character of men who have never wronged him.

Exactly what the functions and prerogatives of the mysterious body known as the Grand Army of the Republic are, no one knows perhaps but the members, but one of them appears to be that of preventing the ex-President of the Southern Confederacy from making himself too conspicuous. A committee of Western Grangers at Rockford, Illinois, asked Mr. Davis to deliver the annual address at the Fair of the Winnebago County Agricultural Society, whereupon the Grand Army of the Republic—the local representatives of it—held a meeting, and resolved that they regretted the invitation had been given; that they looked upon it as an insult to ask the “arch-traitor” to address the relatives and surviving friends of 13,000 men “murdered at Andersonville alone by his orders”; that they protested against the whole proceeding, and pledged themselves not to help or forward it in any way. We must say that we cannot see what possible pleasure any Northern community which suffered heavily during the rebellion can have in listening to a lecture on agriculture from Jefferson Davis, though, if we were obliged to hear him, we should rather hear him treat agricultural topics than such a matter, for instance, as constitutional law or the pardoning power or prison reform; but, of course, it is a matter of taste to be decided by each locality for itself. On one account, however, we regret that the lecture to the Winnebago Grangers did not come off. The address would naturally have dealt mainly with the elevation of labor and certain questions connected with capital, and the

suggestions of the ex-President of the Southern Confederacy on one, and the advice of a Mississippi repudiator on the other, delivered to the Honest Farmer intent upon swindling his creditors, would have been an entertaining, if not an instructive, address.

The week has brought nothing of unusual importance in the business world. As was expected, the Bank of England reduced its minimum discount rate to 2 per cent, and discounts have been obtainable elsewhere in London at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With the decline in what may be called the official rate for money in London, there has been a sharp advance in securities, British consols leading, and selling at higher prices than at any time during the past fifteen years. American securities have also been in larger demand, as is proved by the sales of the U. S. new five per cents, which have been sufficiently large to enable the Syndicate to request the Treasury to issue a call for another \$10,000,000 of the 6 per cent 5.20's. At the New York Stock Exchange there has been an absence of speculation, but prices have generally advanced, the most conspicuous instances having been furnished by the stocks of the railroads north and west of Chicago and of the Western Union Telegraph Company. In respect to the latter, it is understood that a reconciliation has been effected with its rival, the Atlantic and Pacific. On Monday each of these companies restored rates to what they were before the “war” which broke out last spring. The money market has been very easy, and rates have not yet responded to the improved enquiry from the merchants for bank accommodations. The crop advices have been that previous accounts of damage have been exaggerated; accordingly, prices have declined for all the most important staples. The price of gold and the rates for sterling exchange have fallen on account of the rise in and enlarged demand from Europe for American securities, and also because the time is drawing near for the exports of cotton to begin.

The detailed statement of the assets and liabilities of the firm of Duncan, Sherman & Co. appeared on Tuesday; it showed total liabilities of \$4,910,013, with total assets of \$2,119,368, the latter including \$264,800 individual property of the partners. Of the liabilities, \$1,210,000 consisted of the unsecured paper of the firm, and \$2,239,314 due depositors. It turns out that the largest depositor had a balance with the firm of \$345,639 12, and that there were but two others whose balance exceeded \$100,000. The securities of the firm are given at \$567,470, and this while many of them are assigned only a nominal value, some being put in at a cent on the dollar. It is noticeable that, for a banking-house of excellent credit before the failure, the greater part of the securities are of that peculiar kind shunned by prudent people. Altogether, however, the official statement shows that the affairs of the firm were in better condition than feared, and the publication was undoubtedly a relief to many who were prepared for a much worse exhibit. Mr. William Butler Duncan has issued a card to the creditors of the house, proposing a settlement at 33½ per cent. He offers his notes for this amount, payable in five different instalments, the last of them in 1877, on the understanding that, should the assets produce more than 33½ per cent., the surplus also is to be divided pro rata.

We observe among the suggestions sent to the newspapers apropos of the inconvenience caused to Americans travelling abroad by the failure of Messrs. Duncan & Sherman, that the circular notes given to travellers by banking-houses ought to be guaranteed by the Government on the same terms and in the same manner as the bills of national banks are now guaranteed. This is a fresh and striking illustration, though a small one, of the growing readiness of the present generation of Americans whenever they get into trouble of any kind to fly to the Treasury for relief. If the

Government were to guarantee travellers' credits, it ought not to stop there. It ought to see that their baggage is properly shipped, that they are lodged in foreign cities in salubrious quarters, that they deal at the best stores, and that their children are sent to the right schools. It ought to see, above all, that American heiresses are not cheated by foreign husbands, and it is questionable whether it ought not, in case of exceptionally brilliant matches by poor American girls, to supply the trousseau. Ought there not, too, to be Government couriers appointed by the Custom-house to take American travellers over the Continent, and help them in their shopping? Perhaps the day will come, after the inflationists get into power, when Americans abroad will be able to draw direct on the Treasury Department for whatever funds they need, on having their nationality attested on the draft by the consul. That we are not so very far from this is shown by the suggestion of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, that the Government should "stop collecting taxes for a few months," and pay its expenses in paper-money of its own manufacture. But, as the Boston *Advertiser* pertinently asks, why for a few months only? Why not for a few years? And why its own expenses only, we ask? Why not the expenses of all good men and women? Why should we all toil and moil when the Treasury could, if it pleased, foot our bills without loss to anybody?

Mr. Tilden has been making a sort of progress through the State, addressing crowds in the towns through which he passed on the subject of reform. He has spoken very plainly about it, and told his audiences that what he means by reform is not electing "straight-out" Democrats nor Jeffersonian Democrats, not "rallying" nor "wheeling into line," nor even hurling the corrupt centralizer from power, but the election of honest men of whatever party to do the work of the Government. His remarks seem to have struck the assembled multitudes very favorably, and it would appear from their manifestations of approval that this is just the sort of thing they mean by reform themselves. In fact, with a politician of Mr. Tilden's cautious temper and perhaps over-willingness to follow a popular lead, rather than take the initiative himself, it may safely be assumed that he would never have bid such open defiance to the party yoke if he believed at bottom that it was weighing very heavily on the public neck. The press, instead of following their usual custom of opening the floodgates of calumny upon Mr. Tilden—and thus (we may observe incidentally) deterring our purest and best men from entering the political arena—have applauded him, and pointed him out as one man in public life at least deserving popular support. The *Times*, however, which is sometimes inclined to set up a too lofty standard for our public men, criticises Mr. Tilden as not being quite whole-souled enough a reformer. It is impossible to forget, the *Times* says, that Mr. Tilden was a prominent Democratic politician during the whole Tweed period, and declares that he must have been "privy to many of the worst acts of Tweed and Sweeny." The "worst acts" of Tweed and Sweeny were stealing, ballot-stuffing, and perjury, with an occasional connivance, it may be, at murder; so that Mr. Tilden must be a pretty abandoned old villain to come out as a Canal Reformer. And yet, strange to say, he seems to win the confidence of the masses more than Murphy, Bliss, Davenport, Gardner, Conkling, or even Havemeyer did.

A body known to itself as the Legal-Tender Club is going to hold a meeting at the Cooper Institute on or about the 1st of next month to fire the hearts of the inflationists. The club declares itself in favor of a "United States Legal-Tender Sound Currency, based on the faith and credit of the people of the United States and their General Government, and also on the revenues paid by the people to the United States Treasury, and having in addition a representative value in being redeemable and interchangeable for 3.65 United States bonds." The club have invited General Butler

to address it, and he has written a letter in reply, expressing his sympathy with the objects of the club. He says that "how the country is to grow rich enough to pay its debts by the non-production of its able-bodied workers" is something which he cannot understand. Two millions of people, it seems, are now out of work, and, estimating the value of their labor at the low rate of two dollars a day, we find that we have lost—or they, or some one else has lost—in the past year no less than \$1,200,000,000 by their enforced idleness, to say nothing of "the loss of the morale" of the working men and women, which we should say it was safe to estimate at three dollars a head, for both sexes, making in all \$3,000,000,000. No wonder, as General Butler says, that the docks of New York are deserted, her stores unrented, and her dwelling-houses "so depreciated as hardly to meet the mortgages upon them." We are glad to see that the club is not going to stand this sort of thing any longer. As the Secretary of the organization well says, "who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

Mr. Plimsoll appeared in his place in the House of Commons on the day to which the debate on the motion to censure him had been adjourned, and made a full and frank apology. Whereupon Mr. Disraeli abandoned his motion, and everybody seemed satisfied except Mr. Bentinek, who called attention to the fact that Mr. Plimsoll had not withdrawn his charges against Mr. Bates, and suggested that there ought to be a Committee of Enquiry. The Government has passed a bill dealing with the unseaworthy ships, which substantially gives an officer of the Board of Trade at each port the power of stopping a ship from going to sea, and an examination of any ship is to be made on a demand of a certain proportion of the crew. Mr. Plimsoll's own scheme provided for the minute supervision of the shipping business at every stage in a ship's history—when she was built, altered, or repaired, and every time she sailed. This would not have worked, and it is doubtful whether the Government bill will work well either, but then the crime it deals with is committed by a small class and ought not to be difficult to suppress. The effect on Mr. Plimsoll's popularity has been wonderful. His tirade elicited a burst of applause from one end of the kingdom to the other, and brought him so many testimonials that he has been compelled to acknowledge their receipt through the *Times*. The restrained and sober way in which the House of Commons dealt with the affair showed that it had a premonition of the effect it would have on the country at large, as well as a strong sense of its own dignity.

The question whether a Wesleyan minister has the right to put "Rev." before his name on his daughter's tombstone in a parish churchyard, has been decided on appeal, after an elaborate argument, by the Dean of the Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, the father of the Chancellor of the Diocese in which the case arose, who had already passed upon it. The son decided against the minister, as our readers may remember, on the ground that Mr. Keet, as a Wesleyan, was not "worthy of reverence," and that if he were allowed to call himself "reverend" on a tombstone, it might be the means of disseminating false doctrine. The father does not take this solemn view of the matter, but he reaches the same conclusion as the son, viz., that the vicar's discretion cannot be interfered with, inasmuch as the graveyard is the rector's freehold, and he can do what he pleases in it, and might even pasture his sheep in it. We presume he might also disinter the bodies and put them elsewhere. The case grows more ridiculous the farther up it goes. At the next step, however, it comes before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is not an ecclesiastical court, though it has jurisdiction of ecclesiastical causes, and may, and it is hoped will, put an end to this scandalous absurdity. The extent to which the fair fame of the Church of England and its hold on popular respect and affection may be put in peril by the action of a single cantankerous or ill-conditioned minister, is well illustrated both by this and the Jenkins case.

The conviction of Colonel Baker for an assault upon a young lady in an English railway carriage has been the occasion of a good deal of moralizing in some of the newspapers on the difference between justice as administered in our courts and in the English tribunals. This is apropos of course of a supposed failure of justice in the Beecher case; but it seems needless to point out that the analogy between the two cases consists solely in their both being cases at law, tried in court by judge and jury. There is no other resemblance. An offence like that committed by Colonel Baker, had it occurred in this country, would probably have been far more heavily punished than in England, as it is notorious that juries always like to find verdicts where a woman is the plaintiff or prosecutrix. The theory that in such a case the social standing of the defendant would screen him in any civilized court is untenable. The implication, too, that the Beecher case was an indictment for assault is slightly inaccurate and libellous. The law and penology of some of the newspapers seem a little defective, and there is so much crime of one kind and another going on which needs discussion and exposition that this is to be regretted. In the establishment of new schools of journalism, the need of chairs of penology and law ought not to be overlooked.

The flight of Alexander Collie has prevented the submission to the English courts of some interesting points of trade usage. The case of the Bank against the firm was that its bills were not only "accommodation bills," professing, as all bills do, to have been given for "value received," but had certain letters or marks, which were intended to produce the impression that they not only referred to a sale of some kind, but to a sale of particular goods which would be available for the payment of the bill. There was no denying the existence of the letters and marks, but the defendants' counsel contended that they did not necessarily bear the construction put on them by the prosecution; that they were not unfrequently used without any reference whatever to goods; and he produced one example where the letters were merely the initials of the drawer, or acceptor of the bill, and had actually summoned members of six or eight leading firms as witnesses in support of his position, when his client fled, and he retired from the case. There appears, if one may judge from the discussions in the London papers, to be no settled opinion about the matter, or, in other words, it seems as if there was some trade custom in that city which made the legality of these marks at least uncertain. The flight of Alexander Collie proves no more than that his transactions have been doubtful and that his nerves are weak.

The unfortunate British bondholder is again laying his griefs before the civilized world. The Committee of the House of Commons appointed some months ago to investigate the manner in which swindling republics like Honduras, San Domingo, and Costa Rica managed to borrow large sums of money in the London market, has just made its report, and it is certainly an entertaining document, and ought to be issued as a volume for "summer reading." The Honduras Loan is a specimen case. The principal person engaged in carrying it out was Don Carlos Gutierrez, the Minister of the Republic at the Court of St. James, who appears to be a great operator, and cheated in a great variety of ways, and employed as his principal assistant a man named Lefevre, who had been condemned by default in Paris to two years' imprisonment for breach of trust. The two employed Messrs. Biscoffsheim & Goldschmidt as their brokers to put their loans on the market. The subsequent operations were of the most extraordinary character, and included every variety of stock-jobbing frauds, and ended in the disappearance of most of the money raised. It must be remembered that Honduras, when they began raising loans, had no credit whatever and hardly any resources, and was inhabited by a small population, which hardly knows what credit means. In 1867, the Republic owed in all about \$600,000, of which it was able to pay neither principal nor interest, having been in default in both for a long period. Gutierrez and his confederates then went to work, and, by an elaborate system of false pretences, lies, and stock-jobbing,

between the years 1867-70 ran the Republic in debt for over \$30,000,000 by the sale of bonds at about 80; but of this sum only about \$3,500,000 reached the Government in cash, and this went to pay the contractors who made fifty-three miles of an uncompleted railroad. The only other return was the cancellation of bonds amounting in nominal value to about \$3,500,000 more. The rest of the debt has disappeared, but both Lefevre and Don Carlos refused to appear before the Committee. The bonds now outstanding are, we need hardly say, worthless, and the only course open to the holders is to raise a filibustering party, conquer the Republic, and "base" their securities on "the entire wealth of the people."

The French Minister of Public Works, M. Cailloux, has made before the Committee on the Budget an estimate of the damage done by the floods in the South of France, in which he sets it down at over \$15,000,000, which is a very large reduction from the earlier estimates, which reached in some cases \$100,000,000. The exaggeration which marks these estimates in case of all great fires and inundations is a natural result of the tremendous impression they make on the imagination. The Assembly continues to work away at the details of the new constitution, and particularly the regulation of the election of senators, and in voting the various appropriations. M. Buffet announces that the state of siege will be kept up until a new press law, which will not be ready until the Assembly meets again, has been passed—probably one of the strongest acknowledgments of the influence of the press ever made in France. There is no change worthy of note in the relations of parties. There are still rumors of troubles with Germany arising out of German jealousy of the French armaments, but they seem to have no foundation.

In Germany there are signs of a break in the Ultramontane resistance, for two of the bishops have expressed their willingness to submit to the law for the administration of ecclesiastical property, but it is denied that there is any likelihood of joint action on the subject. It is generally supposed now that permission has been given from Rome for each bishop to decide for himself to submit or not. On the other hand, the Ultramontanes have carried the day in the Bavarian elections, and will have a majority of two in the new Chamber.

That there is an insurrection of greater or less dimensions in Herzegovina, and that there has been some fighting, appear to be certain; but whether the movement is making any progress, or is likely to become serious, it would be difficult to say. All troubles occurring in Bosnia or Herzegovina are certain to be magnified, owing to the wildness and remoteness of the provinces, and the hatred of the Turks felt by the majority of the population and by their neighbors over the Austrian border. Skirmishes are magnified into battles, and the Turkish losses represented as very great, on the smallest possible ground of facts. The origin of the present disturbance is probably to be found in the tax-gathering, and whether it will become serious or not will depend on the amount of assistance the insurgents can get from Austrian territory, and this again will depend on the amount of zeal Austria puts into measures of prevention.

The condition of affairs in the North of Spain appears again to be very uncertain. The Carlist Committee in London pronounces the late reports of Alfonsist successes untrue, and it is acknowledged by the Alfonsists that there was no foundation for the story that Dorregaray had retired across the French frontier. The Carlist version is that two hundred of his men, who were left behind to burn the ferry-boats on the Ebro, had been driven into France, but this was expected, and that the Carlist losses during the past month have been trifling. The game of recrimination about cruelty is still kept up on both sides, and Don Carlos has written to his cousin remonstrating with him on the brutality of his troops, and expressing unbounded confidence in his own ultimate triumph. The new constitution as a whole has been adopted by the committee appointed to draft it.

THE CONTEST OVER THE CURRENCY.

AN Ohio correspondent, in another column, puts together some facts which are just now worth noting because they have a good deal of bearing on the fate of the currency question. That question is again coming up, and is again assuming a threatening aspect and exerting a depressing influence on the business of the country, mainly because the party in power for the last fifteen years has either avoided dealing with it at all, or has only dealt with it in a half-hearted and insincere way. It is dealing with it now in a half-hearted and insincere way. The bill of January, 1875, was avowedly not a final settlement, but a compromise intended to put off final settlement to a more convenient season. We drew attention at the time to the way in which Senator Sherman fenced with the questions put him by Mr. Schurz as to the real meaning of the act. Our correspondent draws attention to the way in which he is explaining it away in Ohio. From the account he gives of it there, people are led to believe that it is a mere form, and will have no effect whatever, or, in other words, that the present state of things is neither dangerous nor undesirable. And Senator Morton's speech shows clearly that the Republican chiefs do not wish to "go before the people" on the currency question, and have nothing very positive to say about it. What they prefer to speak about and legislate about is the "outrage" question. They have ten words to offer about apocryphal murders at the South for one about financial reform.

What has been done to inform public opinion on financial questions has been done almost entirely by the newspapers; but then, excellent as much of the work done by the newspapers has been, it cannot have, and has not had, the effect which plain and earnest speaking by the party leaders would have had. People in forming their judgments about public questions are apt to be a good deal influenced by the consideration of what must and will be done, as well as by the consideration of what ought to be done; and about the former, party managers are naturally supposed to know more than the editors know. When the party chiefs, therefore, kept on persistently shirking or evading the currency question after the war, good Republicans naturally got into the way of thinking that it might be shirked or evaded indefinitely, and of regarding the newspaper articles about the currency as good essays containing sound principles which some day or other the country might have to put in practice; but what most needed to be done at this particular moment "practical men" like Messrs. Sherman, or Boutwell, or Conkling were supposed to know best.

The result of this state of things is that the Republican party has remained, down to this moment, without any definite policy on the currency question, and that those who speak for it officially have always spoken about the public debt in an uncertain way. When Congress first authorized Secretary McCulloch to contract, it did so in carelessness or ignorance of what it was doing, for, as soon as its attention was strongly directed to the matter, it withdrew the authority. When the first outcry against the bondholders was raised in 1867-8, and the talk of paying them off in greenbacks began to be heard, instead of boldly stemming the tide and speaking out in defence of common honesty and national honor, Senator Sherman introduced a most discreditable bill, intended to "scale" the public debt by compelling the bondholders to accept a five per cent. for a six per cent. bond, without the option of being paid off, and advised the bondholders as a friend to submit to the fraud, lest a worse thing should overtake them. So, also, when the question came up of the precise position and character of the \$44,000,000 withdrawn by Mr. McCulloch, the majority refused to make any legislative utterance on the subject, and allowed the bold Boutwell to settle the matter in his own way. Had the panic not occurred this do-nothing policy upon the most important question of the day would probably have been persisted in, and the attention of the party managers have been concentrated steadily on the manipulation of the South. The frantic manufacture of outrages, through the machinery of the Department of Justice and otherwise, which we wit-

nessed last fall, was unquestionably a desperate attempt to escape the pressure of the financial problem; and the bill of last January was, as we now see more clearly from Mr. Sherman's account of it, a piece of mystification. It is, he says, paper for the soft-money men and gold for the hard-money men. "You pays your money and you takes your choice." As regards the Republican party, its own desire is to please everybody—both the contractionist and inflationist, the solvent and insolvent, the creditor and the debtor, the lazy and the industrious; but a policy of this sort is not likely to carry us very rapidly towards specie payment. The Ohio voter may very well ask Senator Sherman now why the Treasury has accumulated gold, inasmuch as it is not going to redeem, and what need there is for redemption when the greenbacks are in any event sure to stay afloat.

That the Democrats, on the other hand, have no really sound financial traditions, and have never received any sound or thorough financial instruction, is equally certain. When the party last took up the currency question it approached it wholly from the political side. Its hostility to paper money was hostility to the money of monopolist banks. A thorough discussion of the evils and dangers of all paper money by whomsoever issued has never taken place in its ranks, so that "soft money" issued by "the people" is a new thing to it and by no means repulsive. Approaching the subject again from the political side, it sees much in "people's money" to commend it. It is issued not by "grasping speculators" and "heartless monopolists," but "by the people, through the people, for the people." It is printed on the people's press and scattered abroad by the people's officers. When issued plentifully, it is sure to raise not the prices of a few things but the prices of everything, and is thus a thoroughly democratic money. Moreover, it cannot, like gold and silver, be melted down and carried off by foreign speculators. It stays at home and circulates only through American hands. In fact, it has, considered politically, every quality that "the poor man" can desire, and there is nothing in the history of the Democratic party to lead a good Democrat to distrust it. Moreover, its constitutionality in time of peace is not so serious a difficulty for Democrats as some Republican orators would fain believe. It was the general opinion of lawyers and politicians down to 1861 that the United States had no power to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts or to issue paper for compulsory circulation. The Republican party got over this difficulty by the assumption of "the war power," or, in other words, by the aid of the theory that in times of great national peril whatever was necessary to the national safety might be done without regard to constitutional prohibitions. Now, the Democrats may very well say, and do say, that the term "war power" ought to be construed in a large and liberal sense; that the danger against which it is intended to guard need not necessarily be danger from armed attack or invasion, but any danger threatening the mass of the citizens with distress and suffering; and that the panic has brought us face to face with such a danger—a fact which the President and Mr. Richardson partially recognized when they began issuing the \$44,000,000 in 1873 for reasons of state. Moreover, although the Supreme Court may pronounce the issue unconstitutional except in time of war, a Republican Administration has shown that a decision of the Supreme Court is only binding until the Court can be reorganized or enlarged. In fact, it is painful and alarming to recall the number of Republican devices produced during the last fifteen years which may now return to plague the inventors.

The way to get out of the scrape is to drop the policy of subterfuge and evasion and tell the honest truth and stick to it, or, in other words, "trust the people," as Mr. Boutwell would say. No amount of lying and quibbling will ever get us back to specie payment, nor will the supply of murders at the South last long enough to save the party from taking some solid ground on this question. All the negroes might be slaughtered without solving or helping to solve the problem. There is one thing, too, very certain, and that is, that the Presidential campaign cannot be carried on next year on the

Southern issue. It will inevitably be conducted largely on the financial issue; whether it result in the triumph of the policy of inflation or of the policy of evasion, the effect on business will be equally disastrous. The country has gone as far as it can go on the Republican plan of dodging and postponing. We have very distinctly reached a crisis, at which we must select one of two plain courses. A decision in favor of resumption, without falsehood or reservation, would launch the country on another magnificent run of prosperity; a decision in favor of inflation, or of inflation that will be the same thing as contraction, or contraction that will be the same thing as inflation, will certainly bring about one of the most tremendous financial catastrophes ever witnessed, for no commercial state of the magnitude and importance of the American Union has ever either gone into bankruptcy or attempted wholesale issues of irredeemable paper in time of profound peace. The seizure of the Government by the inflationists would in fact mean, and be taken to mean, that, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, the affairs of a vast, highly-organized society had passed into the hands of its most ignorant and unscrupulous class; and an occurrence of this sort in our day would give a shock to civilization itself.

THE PLIMSOLL INCIDENT.

IT seems to be the fate of the English Conservatives of late years to stimulate radical tendencies a good deal more than the Liberals could or would. In fact, their main function in English politics has recently been the precipitation of schemes which the Liberals were only talking of in a half-hearted way, and their very blunders seem to serve this purpose as well as their preconceived strategy. At the bottom of their promotion of radical ideas is the belief that their putting on more coal will secure them the control of the engine. It was this belief which led them to carry into execution the radical plan for the extension of the franchise in 1867, and which is now leading them to flirt with the female suffragists. The party is suffering seriously in the House of Commons, as the English papers are beginning to point out, from the Premier's want of business capacity, combined with the delicacy of his health and his advanced age; and, curiously enough, this serious weakness has unexpectedly, in the Plimsoll case, lent powerful support to a state of public feeling which any party calling itself really conservative ought to view with horror. Ever since the Dundee election, when Mr. Edward Jenkins was elected by a heavy majority over Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the new constituencies, or, rather, additions made to the old constituencies by the late Reform Acts, have been causing English politicians considerable anxiety. The election of Mr. Jenkins was followed by that of Dr. Kenealy, and there is constant expectation of others of a similar character. Mr. Jenkins was elected because he had written a novelette containing a caricatured biography of a young pauper, and Kenealy because he had been counsel for a butcher who had been clearly proved a fraudulent claimant of a baronetcy. Both candidates, too, were elected without the slightest reference to party ends or traditions, or to current political questions, and, in fact, their success had all the air of being the result of a sudden freak. If one judges the new constituencies from such occurrences, one can hardly avoid feeling that if about the time of a general election the voters of the boroughs were seized with any great delusion, they might, under its influence, send up to the House of Commons a sufficient number of adventurers and fanatics to place the Government in great peril or difficulty; and the history of the Tichborne affair shows that no foresight or sagacity would be sufficient to put politicians on their guard and enable them to adopt measures of prevention. The rise of Orton the butcher into a popular hero has been as unaccountable as that of many of the Arab or Indian prophets, and the election of Kenealy as a means of helping him and vindicating the cause of justice, has also a flavor of Oriental extravagance and absurdity about it. But the striking characteristic of his election is that it is simply a means of giving expression to strong feeling on a particular point, and is, in no sense, a contri-

bution to the general political work of the country. It is, in short, a process somewhat resembling the giving of three groans for the Court of Queen's Bench; and that the franchise should be used recklessly for such a purpose naturally causes more or less alarm even among people who are not timid.

Now, it is not difficult to see that the Plimsoll affair is likely to spread and strengthen, especially among the new voters, this excited and emotional way of using the franchise. Mr. Plimsoll is not a very wise man in the political sense of the word. He is a philanthropic enthusiast, whose imagination has been filled with one gross abuse, and who takes no account of difficulties in trying to remedy it. This sort of man does and has done great service in our day, but not in shaping or suggesting legislation. The bill which Mr. Plimsoll himself framed for preventing the use of unseaworthy ships was in so far absurd that it would have been impossible to execute it. Now, anything which makes such a man seem not only more humane, but more sagacious, than those who are regularly charged with the embodiment of ideas in legislation is, in the existing and probable condition of English constituencies, more or less dangerous; and yet this is exactly what has happened through the late scene in the House of Commons. Not only did the Government show itself indifferent to human suffering by its abandonment of the bill, but its subsequent surrender showed that its abandonment was foolish and unnecessary. This is not all, and not the worst, however. It was brought back to its duty, not by the parliamentary process of persuasion by argument, but by a violent, threatening, and disorderly harangue, from a person excited to the verge of insanity. Upon seeing him shake his fist in their faces, and set the Speaker at defiance, the Ministers actually changed their programme, and agreed to carry a bill which they had determined to throw overboard. This is the real truth of the matter. Mr. Plimsoll's apology was a mere form, the most marked effect of which was to heighten the triumph of his peculiar method of bringing the Ministry to terms. All England is delighted, too, and congratulations pour in on him from every quarter; and the lesson of the affair to the new voters is obvious, and most certainly will not be lost on them. It will not only heighten their respect for the Plimsoll type of man, which is not to be regretted, but it will increase their confidence in it for political uses, and will correspondingly diminish their confidence in the kind of politicians by which the English Government has thus far been conducted—the slow, cautious, careful, unemotional kind, which occupies itself fully as much with the possible indirect results of measures as with their intended or direct results. The chances of seats in the House for men like Mr. Plimsoll will be greatly increased, and the imaginations of young demagogues will be filled with visions of overthrowing the Cabinet by *coups de théâtre*.

Why the rise into power and credit of this class of politician would be unusually dangerous in England it is not difficult to explain. The first or main reason is that the constitution is simply a bundle of traditions, respect for which is a mere habit which the House of Commons might any day throw off. There is no organic law, as there is here, embodying the sober second thought of the country, a disregard of which would be revolutionary. A reckless or radical House of Commons would, therefore, be an engine of tremendous power, and especially of power of mischief, owing to the constitution of English society; for English society and the huge fabric of English credit rest almost entirely on the assumption that (in English politics) customs and traditions and vested interests and long-existing understandings will be respected, that no sudden or violent changes will be made and no rash experiments tried. English society is so complicated, and English credit so delicate a thing, and the variety of interests over which the Government has to watch in all parts of the world so great, that the slightest suspicion of revolutionary tendencies in the House of Commons would produce a panic such as the world has never seen. The social and political machinery there could not bear the jolting over rough roads which ours here has so often to undergo, and undergoes with impunity. The danger from the caprices of the new

constituencies will probably not disappear until they have been in some manner subjected to party rule, and trained to act under the orders of "managers"—a result which may not be very far off. What kind of party they will support, and what general policy they will take up, it would now be difficult to predict, because uncommonly little is known about them. Every writer has his own theory about "what the English workingman wants," and no two writers agree. But it may be taken for granted that his rule, if it is ever established, will have but little of the steadiness and farsightedness and stolid devotion to remote ends which have marked English policy for five hundred years. It will probably be more humane and less imperious, but it will want the national self-confidence, and will not long retain the wealth which has made England a first-class power. A very little instability in legislation would cause its disappearance.

THE STORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN TUNNEL.

A FEW weeks ago (July 8) the first regular passenger train rolled through the notorious Hoosac Tunnel in Massachusetts. The completion of a work bearing the same relation to all other tunnels in America which that of Mont Cenis bears to the tunnels of Europe, is a fact of more than local interest, and the history of the enterprise contains not a few lessons of far-reaching application. So impracticable has the whole undertaking appeared that popular lecturers have long been accustomed, especially in Massachusetts, to refer to the time of the completion of the Hoosac Tunnel as a synonym for eternity. Many may be surprised, therefore, to learn that the real beginning of the work dates back less than twenty years, although fifty years ago a tunnel under the mountain was talked about, not for a railway but for a canal, to perform for Massachusetts the same function which the Erie Canal performs for New York. The reason why so much attention has been directed to this mountain in the northwestern corner of Massachusetts, and why for over fifty years it has been apostrophized, "Be thou removed," is that a prolongation of the Mohawk Valley in New York strikes the valley of the Deerfield River in Massachusetts, and the two valleys, including the valley of the Hoosick River, form therefore the most natural and, in fact, the only possible low-grade route between the West and Boston; or, more properly, would have formed such a route could the five miles of Hoosac Mountain have been taken out of the way.

After the abandonment of the canal project, which was not given up until some time after the ground had been actually surveyed, nothing was done until 1848, when the Massachusetts Legislature granted a charter in the usual form to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company for a road from Greenfield in Massachusetts to the State line of New York, there to connect with some road to be built from the city of Troy. It was understood, of course, that this road was to pass through Hoosac Mountain. In 1851, work was commenced upon the western end of the road, and at the same time the company petitioned the legislature for a loan of the State credit in order to build the tunnel—uncertainty with reference to the time of completion and cost of which prevented capitalists from investing in the stock of the company. This application, as well as another made in 1853, was unsuccessful. In 1854, however, the company found a more hopeful or a more pliant legislature, and the State loaned its credit to the amount of two millions of dollars for the purpose of building the tunnel, it being supposed at that time that the whole cost would be less than this sum. The tunnel was to be finished in six years from that time. The conditions of the loan were precisely expressed, and every precaution was taken apparently to guard the State against any loss. No scrip could be issued until the company had obtained stock subscriptions to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars, twenty per cent. of which was to be actually paid in in cash. In addition, seven miles of road and one thousand linear feet of the tunnel were to be finished. When these and some minor conditions were complied with, the State Treasurer was authorized to deliver to the company one hundred thousand dollars in scrip. Subsequent payments were to be made upon the fulfillment of similar conditions until the full amount of the loan should be delivered. As security, the State took a mortgage upon the road and other property of the company. Four years passed before the company was able to comply with these requirements, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to induce the State to subscribe for stock in addition to the loan, the first application for State scrip was made in 1858. After this there seemed to be no difficulty, and applications were made with increased frequency until July 9, 1861, at which date the State had paid out in all nearly eight hundred thousand dollars. Work suddenly ceased July 12, or three

days after the last issue of scrip, and, soon after, the State foreclosed its mortgage and took possession of the road.

Two or three years of investigation by legislative committees brought to light the following facts: The company which had contracted for the building of the road and tunnel on the strength of the promised State loan, had not been able to secure stock subscriptions except for a very meagre amount. Six hundred thousand dollars was required before State aid could be obtained. Hardly one-tenth of this was ever subscribed by *bond-fide* subscribers. In this emergency, the contractors subscribed for nearly the whole amount desired, six thousand shares, the company agreeing to receive pay for the same in work. The company also agreed to turn over to the contractors all money received from other subscribers; also, to pass to them all State scrip as soon as obtained; also, to allow them to increase their contract price—at first three hundred thousand dollars, and afterwards two hundred thousand dollars more. It will be seen, also, that, in virtue of holding a majority of the stock, the contractors, Messrs. H. Haupt & Co., became the real owners and managers of the company.

The formal records of the meetings of the directors of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company for the succeeding four or five years furnish some very amusing reading. The meetings were held apparently at any time or place convenient to the four or five men who usually attended them—sometimes at the Fitchburg Depot, sometimes at the American House in Boston, and sometimes in Greenfield. At these meetings Mr. Haupt is always present. Sometimes he votes simply as a director; sometimes he acts as clerk of the meeting; again, he appears as a committee to receive subscriptions, which are to be paid to H. Haupt & Co.; again, he is appointed chief-engineer, or serves on the finance committee, or is appointed agent of the company to solicit subscriptions from towns. In fact, Mr. Haupt is really a wonderful man. He outdoes Mr. Oakes Ames completely, for he not only puts stock "where it will do most good," but he also puts himself where he will do most good—to himself. For instance, Mr. H. Haupt, as chief-engineer, certifies to the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company—that is, to H. Haupt & Co.—that H. Haupt & Co., contractors, have done an amount of work which entitles them to receive four hundred thousand dollars in bonds and stock, and Mr. H. Haupt thereupon, as member of the finance committee, signs an order upon the treasurer directing him to pay H. Haupt & Co. the amount authorized by the chief-engineer. In recent years, we have become accustomed to very remarkable railroad management, but when we remember that all this took place before the war, we are obliged to credit Mr. Haupt with an originality and versatility of which it is impossible to speak too highly.

We take the liberty to digress for a moment to describe two or three of Mr. Haupt's little schemes, which, if not quite so amusing as the performances above-mentioned, may nevertheless have an illuminating influence on legislators and contractors. On one occasion, it became necessary to certify to the State Treasurer that twenty per cent. on all subscriptions to stock had been paid in *in cash*. But it had already been agreed that the contractors, who were the principal subscribers, should not pay in cash, but in work. Mr. Haupt, therefore, borrowed from a bank for an hour one hundred thousand dollars in bills, took them to the treasurer of the road, and received credit for a cash payment to that amount on stock subscriptions. He then produced an order from the finance committee, of which he was a member, directing the treasurer to pay H. Haupt & Co. one hundred thousand dollars in cash for work done on the road. The treasurer handed back the same bills, and Mr. Haupt returned them to the bank from which they were taken a few minutes before. Through the aid of this little game the treasurer was enabled to certify that the required amount had been received in cash, and the State Treasurer accordingly handed over to Mr. Haupt one hundred thousand dollars in State scrip. Again, a large part of the State scrip was expressed in sterling currency and made payable in London. Mr. Haupt contrived to secure this at a valuation of four dollars and forty-four cents to the pound at a time when the market value was four dollars and ninety-one cents, and thus in two years was overpaid more than fifty thousand dollars. Again, the northwestern corner of Massachusetts, on account of its rocky character, is impassable for railroads. In order to reach the New York line and connect with a railroad coming east from Troy, it was found necessary to build six miles of road through a corner of Southern Vermont. This required a charter from the Vermont Legislature and the formation of a separate corporation—the Southern Vermont Railroad Company. The company was formed and the road built, the contractors who built it being our old friends H. Haupt & Co. They received in payment fifty thousand dollars in stock (all the stock issued, thus making them sole owners of the road) and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in first-mortgage bonds. The work cost about one hundred thousand dollars, the road being an easy

one to build. It was very necessary, of course, that the Troy and Greenfield Company should obtain control of this road, and accordingly they were authorized by the Massachusetts Legislature to purchase it, the State loaning the company two millions of dollars to make the purchase, and offering to take as security a mortgage upon the Southern Vermont Road when obtained. Who was at the bottom of this precious bit of legislation we do not know. We only know that the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company (H. Haupt & Co.) bought the Southern Vermont Railroad of the stockholders (H. Haupt & Co.), and the State advanced double value for the purchase. But this was not all, for it was afterwards discovered that the Southern Vermont Railroad had been leased in perpetuity to the Troy and Boston Company for a small annual rent, and the State thus paid a heavy sum for a cheap piece of road over which it has no more control than it has over any road in Nebraska.

Mr. Haupt has certainly been well treated by all investigating committees. No word of censure was passed upon him. His unpaid bills were settled by the State. His feelings were injured as little as possible when the State finally took possession of his work, and he was allowed, while surrendering his claims to the State, to put on record a notice of the reservation of a right to petition future legislatures for redress of grievances. We need hardly say that he feels kindly towards everybody. His "sentiments are not embittered." "Grace, mercy, and peace" is his motto.

For two years after the disappearance of Haupt & Co. very little work was done upon the tunnel, although an energetic board of commissioners was prosecuting enquiries with reference to the future work. When the State took possession, it found, as might have been expected, that the road had been built in a miserable manner. Only the cheapest work had been attempted. Deep cuts were passed over, roads were left unbridged, culverts and ditches were not to be found, or, if found, had been constructed evidently not as aids to the running of trains, but as aids to the acquirement of State scrip. Even the location of the road, originally designed to make the best road the nature of the ground permitted, without regard to cost, had been changed so as to make a road of sharper curves and steeper grades, but of cheaper construction. Upon the tunnel the work was of analogous character. The line and grades had been changed so as to secure easier work, and in such a way that fifteen hundred feet would be added to the length. A large part of this tunnelling was afterwards abandoned or changed into an open cutting. The engineering work upon the tunnel was peculiar, if not original. A diagram of cross-sections, drawn by a competent engineer who examined the work, gives the idea of a tunnel through a snow-bank made by school children, though not nearly so regular as these sometimes build. Fortunately, the commissioners appointed by the State at this time were able men, who worked vigorously to bring at least partial order out of this contractor's chaos, and the measures initiated by them for carrying on the work upon the tunnel were followed in the main by the various commissioners and contractors who succeeded them. The State managed the work with varying success until the end of 1868, when a contract for the completion of the tunnel was made with the Messrs. Shanly, of Canada, who have faithfully finished a task of immense difficulty—finished, that is, the work specified in their contract. Of extra and unforeseen work there is yet a great deal to be done, for geologists and engineers alike have been somewhat deceived in the character of the rock and the quantity of water encountered, the former having proved more troublesome and the latter more plentiful than was anticipated. But the Hoosac Mountain no longer blocks the way to the West. The tunnel is an accomplished fact. We may now consider certain questions relating to its construction, its management, and its prospects, to which we call the attention of the Holy Farmer of the West.

Last year, in view of the approaching completion of the Hoosac tunnel, five gentlemen (the best-known of whom perhaps are Mr. W. B. Washburn, Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., and Dr. P. A. Chadbourne) were appointed as corporators of the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel, and Western Railroad (a new name for the former Troy and Greenfield). These gentlemen were directed to examine thoroughly the present condition of the tunnel and the connecting road belonging to the State, to put the latter in a condition for traffic, to examine into possible railroad connections with the West, and to suggest the best method for the future management of the tunnel property. According to the report of these corporators, the tunnel has now cost the State the sum of fourteen millions of dollars. We are struck at once by the great difference between this amount and the two millions at which the work was first estimated, and naturally ask for the reason of this difference. We have already shown that nearly all the money advanced by the State to the Troy and Greenfield Company was wasted. That so great an undertaking fell at first into hands so incapable is greatly to be deplored, and that the State was

culpably negligent in allowing its money to be thus thrown away cannot be disputed. It is evident also that the State officials had no adequate conception of the vastness of the work undertaken, until some time after the first contractors had failed. The first commissioners were able and energetic, and, for a few years, the work was carried on in an effective manner. But the unavoidable "rotation" by which we are cursed came at last, and inefficiency took the place of ability. When the contract was given to the Messrs. Shanly, the State had already paid out five millions of dollars. This last contract, which was confined to the tunnel proper, cost nearly five millions more, and the rebuilding of the badly-built railroad, with land-damages, official salaries, legal fees, sums paid to experts, large quantities of extra work not provided for in the contracts, and interest upon the various sums advanced during eighteen years, bring up the cost to the enormous sum mentioned by the corporators. Moreover, as nearly the whole tunnel will probably require brick arching before it can finally be pronounced perfectly safe, another large sum is to be added to the above amount.

But assuming the tunnel to be ready for use, what is its present situation, and what are its future prospects? The hole is indeed through the mountain; but who will go through the hole and pay for the privilege of so doing? This is a vital question, and only as it is successfully answered can the tunnel enterprise be saved from failure. At present, one terminus of the tunnel-road is at the country village of Greenfield. The other terminus is not even at a country village, but at a State line. If the tunnel be likened to a bridge, it is a bridge with no roads leading to it, and with no people who care to cross it. Concerning it, the expression is almost true that it begins and ends nowhere. A host of ludicrous images is unavoidably suggested by the present attitude of Massachusetts in relation to the tunnel. The tunnel was built too soon. Whatever may be the call of the future, there was certainly no demand for it when it was begun, nor is there any real necessity for it to-day. At present, the tunnel-road can do nothing whatever without the help of the Troy and Boston road upon the one hand, and the Fitchburg road upon the other, for its local traffic is insignificant. But these two roads are, for the most part, only second-class single-track roads, with iron rails, and any attempt to do over them the enormous business of a through line would result in pounding them to pieces in less than six months' time. But the tunnel was built to serve as part of a through road, and only if used as such can its great cost ever be repaid. These two connecting roads, therefore, must be almost entirely reconstructed or new roads built before the tunnel can begin to fulfil its mission.

This consideration brings us to the first proposition made respecting the future management of the tunnel, which is, that the State shall buy out and complete the connecting lines to the Hudson River, and thus furnish, under State ownership and management, the desired rival to the present Boston and Albany Railroad. This action undoubtedly would greatly please Mr. Wendell Phillips and a few others like-minded, as it would be the first step in answer to their present mild request that the State shall buy out a great through-line to Chicago. The stumbling-block in the way is the fact that this first step would cost, in round numbers, twenty millions of dollars, and, in the present condition of the State finances, the prospect for the appropriation of this sum is altogether hopeless—hopeless, we mean, so long as gold and silver furnish the money of the nation. If Messrs. Phillips, Butler, Kelley & Co. can convince the people that twenty millions of dollars can be manufactured with a printing-press, then something may be done in furtherance of this plan. In the meantime, what remains? The State of Massachusetts came into possession of the Hoosac tunnel originally by foreclosure of mortgage. It did not desire the property, but undertook the task of finishing the tunnel in order to get back, if possible, the money already advanced, exactly as banks sometimes finish houses when the builders who gave the mortgages have failed before their work was done. One of the simplest methods of getting out of a very bad fix, therefore, and from very many points of view the most sensible method, would be for the State to imitate the banks and sell the tunnel to a private corporation as soon as possible. This might be done, of course, with some more or less obvious restrictions, and also with permission to consolidate with other companies, and thus to form an efficient trunk-line to the West. There is, however, so strong an opposition to this course that the legislature expressly forbade the corporators above-mentioned to take this proposition into consideration at all, and for the present, therefore, as it fails to receive candid discussion, it may be regarded as impracticable.

Two possible propositions remain. The first is the one earnestly advocated by the corporators—namely, a mixed system of State and private ownership, under which a powerful consolidated road might be formed by the union of several connecting roads with the tunnel-road, the State

being one of the partners in this corporation, and to be represented by one-half the members of the joint board of directors. This seems complicated; but, apart from any theories of the State management of railroads, would probably be the quickest method of forming a large and powerful line. If State directors could be trusted to look after the interests of the State as faithfully as other directors can be trusted to look after the interests which they represent, this might be at once accepted as the very best practical method of escape from the present embarrassing circumstances. But unfortunately it is difficult to understand how it is possible to ensure efficient protection of public interests in any partnership concern. If it can be done anywhere, it can probably be done in Massachusetts; but even in Massachusetts we should feel very doubtful about the result. If the experiment should be fairly tried, it would be watched with interest. The experiment, however, will not be tried immediately, even in Massachusetts, for the bill in its favor was voted down at the last session of the legislature, and the only possible plan remaining was adopted in its place. By this plan, known as the "toll-gate" plan, the State remains sole owner, puts the tunnel under the care of a superintendent or manager, and simply collects toll of all passengers and freight passing through it. The plan has the merit of simplicity; but this is almost the only merit it possesses. As a permanent measure it is condemned, because it will not pay, and also because it directly interferes with the chief purpose of the tunnel—the creation of a powerful through-line. As a temporary expedient, however, it is most admirable. It can be easily altered when necessary; and, in the meantime, it gives a chance to all who are interested to enquire and to think. Mr. Adams and his associates may take comfort in the fact that the defeat of their plan was followed by the adoption of no antagonistic plan, but of a simple time-gaining expedient, which leaves all serious questions unsolved.

TORY MISMANAGEMENT.

LONDON, July 31, 1875.

SOME weeks ago I called your attention to the state of confusion into which Tory mismanagement was fast reducing the business of Parliament. Since then matters have not improved. On the contrary, they have gone from bad to worse; and we have arrived at this, that one of the strongest governments of the present reign has been seriously shaken and discredited in the eyes of their supporters and of the country by the irregular proceedings of a well-meaning, indiscreet enthusiast. No government ever started with a better chance. They had a clear working majority of faithful and well-disciplined followers sent by the English constituencies. They were thus independent of the Scotch and Irish vote—no small consideration to those who wished an unembarrassed régime. The country wanted rest from all sensational legislation and from all troublesome interference by government departments in the affairs of life. It would have been satisfied with very little. A few remedial measures of a mild domestic type, the repeal of obsolete and the consolidation of effective statutes, and a firm but temperate and kindly administration of public affairs, would have been a sufficient programme. A magnificent surplus of six millions was lying in the exchequer; the prestige of the successful conclusion of the Ashantee war threw a halo over the Treasury Bench. The opposition were disheartened and disorganized. They were too feeble to harm the Government by fair, and too chivalrous to harass them by factious, fighting. Everything was in favor of the administration. Wise men saw no reason why they should not survive the full seven years of this Parliament, and perhaps begin another. Sanguine men of one party and desponding men of the other spoke of the Tories remaining in power for a quarter of a century. The gloomiest croaker could not have suggested that a short two years would see the Government sunk into general disfavor—so seriously damaged that, but for the disintegration of their opponents, a change of government might almost have occurred this year.

It is not difficult to see the causes of this collapse; and if you will bear with me while I run over the principal Parliamentary events of the last two sessions, I think I can make them clear.

The Queen's speech last session promised legislation as to the transfer of land, the rearrangement of the courts of judicature, the relationship of master and servant, and the question of licensing. The only fraction of these promises that was carried out was the last. The Government came into power on the votes of the licensed victuallers, and they had to be rewarded. The Licensing Bill did not achieve much for them. It permitted them, however, to keep their public-houses open for an hour each day longer than previously, and secured in exchange their continued goodwill and their suffrages at the cost of the demoralization, for an extra hour per day, of the public. The other parts of the programme were abandoned

for the session. The large landlords did not care to have the transfer of land simplified, and it was desirable to keep them well disposed towards the Government. The influential Tory peers did not wish a rearrangement of the courts of judicature, which might involve the abolition of the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, and no interest cared to press the question. The relationship of master and servant was more ticklish. The workingmen have votes now, and were urgent for some measure in their interest. But the employers of workingmen have also votes, and deprecated the passing of a new measure on this subject when the old one was still on its trial. The Government being in a cleft stick, so to say, between the workmen and their employers, bethought themselves of a seasonable delay, and appointed a committee to report upon the subject. So much for the measures promised in the Queen's speech of 1874.

They had repaid the licensed victuallers for their support at the election; but they owed a heavy debt of gratitude to another important section of the community—the clergy of the Established Church. In an evil moment they remembered the Endowed Schools Commissioners. These gentlemen had offended the clerical interest by carrying out a policy which had the effect of opening old endowments of the pre-Reformation period to the sons and daughters of parents who belonged to other denominations than the Church of England. The Government, in order to do their clerical supporters a favor, determined to cashier the old Liberal Commissioners and appoint new Tory Commissioners in their place, and attempted to direct all the old endowments into one channel—the channel, namely, of the Church of England. The first part of this policy they succeeded in carrying out, but not the second part. They were startled at the feeling aroused in the country by their proposals. They got into a panic, and dropped the dangerous clauses, ingloriously covering their retreat from an untenable position by accusing the official draughtsman of Government bills, who acts only under the instructions of the Government, of draughting clauses that were incomprehensible. But still further to conciliate the church, or rather that part of the church which is powerful in elections, they took under their active protection the bill "to put down Ritualism." The Ritualists are politically an insignificant body, and so they were trampled upon; and this pleased the other sections in the church which have some political insignificance; and thus they paid off their heavy debt of gratitude to the clerical body.

But there was another section of the community—not, perhaps, so powerful socially as the clergy, but still of weight in elections, and especially in metropolitan elections—the cattle-slaughters, the blood, bone, and soap boilers, the manure manufacturers, the tallow-melters, and other dealers in unsavory trades in London. These important industries had to be conciliated. By certain provisions of an act passed in 1844 it was enacted that all who carried on such manufactures in certain parts of London should be bound to discontinue them after thirty years. In other words, thirty years' Parliamentary intimation was given to all owners of slaughter-houses, and other abominations of the kind, that, after 1874, they must clear out of London and carry on their nasty work outside the town, as in most Continental cities. They all knew the fate that was impending, and had known it for thirty years. If a government possessed of moral courage had been in office, they would have gone almost without complaint. But, fortunately for them, and unfortunately for the community, at the end of their thirty years' warning an administration was in power eager to conciliate any interest that had votes. The clauses of the old act of Parliament were repealed, and an act was passed forbidding, it is true, new manufactures of the kind to be erected, but sanctioning the old ones which had been condemned in 1844. And so last session closed, and the whole metropolitan press sang peans over the administration.

This session opened with a flourish of trumpets and a great promise of sanitary and domestic legislation. I need not recapitulate the names of all the multitude of measures that was announced. Very little of them remains, except their names in the order-book. The Pollution of Rivers is gone with the late floods; the manufacturing interests were too strong for it. The bill for the appointment of a public prosecutor has not even been introduced. The Judicature Bill was withdrawn because the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Redesdale and some more Tory peers were offended by the proposal contained in it to curtail the privileges of the House of Lords. The Merchants' Shipping Bill—the only measure, as it appears, in the Ministerial programme about which the country felt any interest—was abandoned a week ago, and reintroduced in an abbreviated form yesterday, because the Ministry became panic-stricken on discovering that the country was in earnest, and was determined that the lives of the seafaring men in England should not continue to be endangered owing to the supineness and insouciance of the Government. These are the failures of the session; and now

see what are the successes? A measure has been passed to reintroduce an insidious form of purchase in the army, in the interest of the wealthy officers. Another has been passed to clear out the wretched inmates of the city "rookeries," who have no votes, in order to build cottages for artisans who have votes. This is a useful measure, if it only can be put into operation. Two other measures which may have an important bearing on the welfare of the newly-enfranchised working-classes have received the Queen's assent—the Friendly-Societies and the Employer and Workmen Bills. If to this short catalogue the Agricultural Holdings Bill, about which I wrote to you the other day, be added, you have the sum of the legislation of this protracted session.

And now I hope you have gathered some idea of the principal causes of the decline of the present Government in popular esteem. The great distinction to be drawn between this Government and that of Mr. Gladstone is this: that the latter legislated for the community at large, and the former for individual classes in the community. It has been all class legislation since March, 1874. The policy of Mr. Disraeli's Government in introducing their measures has not been regulated by the consideration, Will this measure be for the amelioration of England? They have not said to themselves, Will the country be happier and better if this becomes law? does it redress some widespread grievance or glaring injustice? The question they have asked is this: Will this measure gratify such and such a class of men who have votes and political influence—men who will wish to keep us in power and vote for us at the next general election? It has been the policy of electioneering agency throughout, and, as a natural consequence of such a policy, every proceeding initiated by the Government has been characterized by a timidity and fear to give offence which in a strong government is contemptible. If any of their proposals presses however gently upon any interest, and that interest cries out, the pressure is at once removed. Either the whole bill is dropped, or the troublesome clause is dropped, or a provision is inserted in the bill to enable any one who feels aggrieved to withdraw himself from the operation of the measure. And, along with this desire to keep things comfortable all round, there is displayed on the Treasury Bench an inconsistency and vacillation which, when compared with the strong determination of the late Government, is almost pitiful. The policy of the Parliament is very much what the Cabinet makes it, and the Cabinet is very much what the Prime Minister makes it. The present Prime Minister has never liked the drudgery of work, and has always smiled at earnestness of purpose. He will use all his ingenuity to "dodge" a difficulty and all his never-failing humor to laugh it off; but he will never face it and conquer it in fair fight. Hence there has been an air of unreality, a desire for "dodging," and an absence of earnestness in every detail of the Ministerial policy. The country have borne with this for two years. But they will stand no more of it. The contrast between the zealous and unselfish earnestness of the member for Derby—an earnestness that has nearly cost him his reason—on behalf of the seafaring men of England, and the cynical indifference of the Government, who were ready to sacrifice the sailors' lives in the interest of the tenant farmer's pockets, has roused the best feelings of the country. Next session the Government—whether under Mr. Disraeli or some other Prime Minister—will be compelled either to mould its policy in the interests of the community and not in the interests of Tory voters only, or to make way for another Government which will.

Correspondence.

A NORWEGIAN SCHOLAR IN POLITICS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the very time that your excellent article on "The Scholar in Politics" was being issued, an episode was taking place in our political campaign which illustrated some of its principal points, and has lately become the topic of lively discussion. The central figure is Prof. R. B. Anderson of the State University. He is a Norwegian by birth, a contributor to the large Norwegian paper, the *Skandinaven*, of Chicago, and author of a book called "Columbus not the Discoverer of America" and others.

You very justly showed that mere declamation in favor of purity and against corruption in the abstract is of little avail. It must be enforced by personal examples. To quote the words of the article in question: "It becomes the duty of the reformer not so much to preach purity as to give reasons why Smith or Jones must be got out of the way; and this is an unpleasant task, which the scholar in politics like other people naturally avoids if he can." This giving of reasons is precisely what Professor Anderson has

done in a recent case, and the result seems to show that the scholar in politics must be prepared to meet not only the ordinary resentment which Smith or Jones naturally conceives against anybody who interferes with him, but a special indignation directed against him by reason of his profession. The circumstances are briefly as follows:

The Norwegians alone of the foreign element of our population have been in the habit of voting the Republican ticket almost in a body. Their numbers are so considerable that of late they have been given a representative upon the State ticket. This year it was agreed that they should have the Secretary of State. They presented to the convention the names of two of their most respectable compatriots; but Hon. S. D. Barron, State senator from the northern counties, displaced them both with a candidate of his own named Warner, whom he eulogized as a more truly representative Norwegian than any other who had been named. The delegates protested that Warner was scarcely known; that it was certain from what was known of him that he was entirely incompetent for the position; that Warner was not a Norwegian name; and, finally, that he was not and would not be accepted in any sense as representative of their element.

At this juncture appeared the scholar in politics in the person of Prof. Anderson. His position and acquirements, and his residence at Madison, where the convention was held, naturally caused his advice and assistance to be solicited by his countrymen. He interested himself to the extent of trying to procure for them the most creditable representative possible. Warner, it seems, is of Norwegian parentage, but was brought up by an American family, changed his name, and long since lost any identification he might once have had with the Scandinavians. He is said to be illiterate, and not in any respect competent for the important office in question. It is notorious that Barron secured this nomination for him in order to remove him from his own path as a candidate for the State Senate this fall, having been pressed very hard by him at the last election. Barron, incensed by the professor's interference with his plan, approached him and told him fiercely that it was in exceedingly bad taste for a professor to have anything to do with politics, and that he was no more than an officious meddler. It happens that Barron is one of the regents of the institution in which Anderson is professor. His rebuke was met with a spirited reply: "If it is proper business for a regent," said Mr. Anderson, "it is certainly proper for a professor."

The tenor of the press comments on this rencontre strongly favors the senator and abuses the professor. The leading Republican newspaper of the city says that "the rebuke was timely and deserved," and the opinion is generally concurred in. It is agreed that politics is so degrading that nobody can touch it without contamination, especially nobody whose position holds him up as a guide and a respected model before a number of other persons. With a wild lack of consistency, or perhaps upon the theory that the politician was lost beyond redemption any way, the whole opprobrium is heaped upon the professor. The fate of this professor, who thought it was proper to manifest some anxiety for the nomination of a competent and respectable Secretary of State, instead of an ignorant and rather disreputable one, does not seem likely to encourage other scholars in politics who might feel like stating their views personally about Smith and Jones.—Respectfully,

W. H. BISHOP,

Ed. *Commercial Times*.

MILWAUKEE, August 10, 1875.

THE OHIO ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The pending election in this State has come to be regarded as a movement in the Presidential election, and therefore it has drawn the attention of the whole country. The Democratic managers in this State mean that this election shall fix the doctrines or "issues" of the Presidential election, and the candidate thereof; and they have had the sagacity or the ill-judgment—according as the sequel shall show—to take the field in advance, assume the aggressive, and force the canvass entirely upon a single question of national policy; that question, as they state it, being whether Congress shall make money plenty or scarce; whether it shall make good times or hard times; whether it shall issue to the people plenty of their own money—greenbacks—or take these away, to give to banks the privilege to issue their money.

The fact that orators stump the State, delivering harangues of which this is the theme, and inciting "the people" to hostility to the bond-holders, the banks, capitalists, money-lenders, the property-classes, and to creditors of all sorts, and try to persuade them that the emission of "the people's money" will shove by all these "robbers" and put money directly into their

hands, and that they think to carry the election by these means, does not seem to support the common boast that the average intelligence of our people is higher than that of any other, nor the theory that ability to read and write is a safeguard against political demagogues. If we could predicate a judgment upon the popular intelligence, we could predict the result of an election which is made to hang on such absurdities; but can we assume anything upon the popular intelligence as to the office of money? We have a multitude of examples that men of pretty good intelligence in general affairs are daft when they touch the currency question. Besides, the idea that the emission of paper money is an engine of prosperity is one of the oldest of American traditions. The national Constitution tried to extinguish it, but it found the habits of a people stronger than written constitutions. We have a multitude of "statesmen," political financiers, "able editors," and "publicists" who sincerely think the emission of paper money is the creation of wealth; that Government should issue enough to make prosperous times; that the volume of it has no relation to its depreciation, and that therefore this is no measure of its sufficiency.

Therefore we may not predicate upon the popular intelligence a confident opinion that the people of Ohio will reject these shallow demagogues, who promise that in return for their votes they will give them plenty of greenbacks and good times. We see them tempted by a delusion which was always captivating to the American people, and we have to think that there has been no considerable class of public men or of writers for the public journals, with correct ideas of the laws of money, to impress the public mind, and shield it against these paper-money fallacies. It is true the Democratic party has at times and places, and apparently with popular support, declared for "hard money," but this was always against some special bank-issue creation of the other party, and it could invoke popular prejudice against the banks, which certainly gave occasion enough by their frequent failures; but now, whilst the party has abandoned hard money, it still makes use of the popular prejudice against banks, and it represents them as usurping the place of "the people's money"—greenbacks.

Can an attempt to predicate upon the popular intelligence an opinion of the way the people will vote, be aided by a view of the principles or policies which the Republican platform or speakers present as the alternative to these Democratic fallacies? Their platform declares:

"That a policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without unnecessary shock to business or trade, will ultimately equalize the purchasing power of the coin and paper dollar."

This is very good for platform literature; but, like the wise opinions of Captain Jack Bunsby, the meaning lies in the application thereof, and the campaign speeches give the application. Gen. Hayes, the Republican candidate for Governor, pleads for the Republican party that—

"They do not propose to force resumption by a contraction of the currency. They are satisfied to leave to the influence of time and the inherent energy and resources of the country the work that yet remains to be done to place our currency at par."

This is Boutwell's "growing up to specie," expressed in prettier words. The hearer would never suppose there was in existence an act of a Republican Congress prescribing that on Jan. 1, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem the greenbacks as fast as presented, and giving him bonds to sell for gold to make this redemption. Is not that a law for the most violent contraction when the time comes? So it was thought; but it seems there was a mistake, for Senator Sherman, the leading financier in Congress, who followed General Hayes in opening the Republican campaign, denied that the act contemplated any contraction, unless, indeed, there should be found to be more currency than was demanded by "the wants of trade." He assumed that the act does not intend the redemption of the notes, but to "float" them on the promise of coin convertibility, as banks of issue float their circulation; and he argued that this, so far from causing contraction, would actually inflate, by adding the specie to the paper money. He said:

"The great body of our present circulation could be maintained at par in gold, and all the gold now lying idle, and all that is produced by mining, could be added to and mingle with the paper-money in daily use."

The like of this, he told them, has already been done in France. The next great gun in the campaign was fired by Senator Morton, at Urbana on the 7th. With his accustomed sagacity, he sought to turn the discussion to other matters, and to make chiefly prominent the bad character of the Democratic party, and its dangerous designs in the South and upon the public credit. But when he came to the currency question, he also denied

that the Specie-Payment Act contemplated any real redemption of the greenbacks or any contraction. He said:

"The bill provided that the greenbacks should not be retired so as to leave less than three hundred millions in circulation, and it contemplated that they should continue to be a part of the circulation, and the main purpose was to improve their quality and bring them to a par value, and with them the bank-notes, which were redeemable in greenbacks. . . . The theory of the bill in another respect was, that there should be neither contraction nor expansion of the currency; that the volume should be maintained as nearly as possible at what it then was."

So we find that when the act says, "On and after the first day of January, A.D. 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption," etc., and authorizes him to use to this end the surplus revenue, and to sell bonds to buy coin for this redemption, it does not mean really to redeem the notes, but to keep them all afloat; that the Government is not to go out of the business of issuing currency, nor to withdraw its legal-tender notes; but that it is to continue to issue according to "the wants of trade," and is to make an effort to float three hundred millions of legal-tender notes on the promise of specie, and on top of these all the bank circulation that can be floated thereon. And as the provision for retiring greenbacks in the ratio of eighty per cent. of the increase of bank circulation uses the same word "redeem," it thus appears that these can be re-issued; for it is found that to redeem a promise to pay means to float it. And so the Treasury is to sell bonds to buy coin to pour into a bottomless hole by redeeming and floating between seven hundred and eight hundred millions of paper money, and as much more as "free banking" shall bring forth.

What is the situation thus presented to the popular mind? Unhappily specie payment is impossible without a preparatory contraction or a violent following contraction; but neither party in Ohio dares to propose contraction, or to admit that it will result. Each talks idiotically of "the wants of trade" as to be the regulator of the volume of greenbacks that Congress shall emit. And while the Democratic speakers boldly feed the popular folly by denouncing contraction, and promising more money, the Republican speakers have to deny contraction, and their senatorial financier is constrained, by his view of the party necessity, to declare the redemption act a fraud, and to make a quasi-promise of inflation.

If we forecast the election upon the intelligence of the people, and if we take the speeches of both sides as trustworthy estimates of their intelligence, can we say that either party presents such superior merits as to make its election rationally sure? Are we not left rather to conjecture how far party spirit, party lines, and the distrust of the other party will hold the Republican majority together against the influence of hard times and the seductive promise of flush paper money?

In truth, the Republicans are heavily handicapped by the crooked course of their party in Congress. At the first session of the last Congress they were carried away by the cry for more banks in the West and South, which they tried to satisfy by withdrawing circulation from the East. But the banking privilege is unavailing without capital, and this was the real want. At the second session they were still under the influence of the cry for more currency, and they tried to grant more; but Grant's views had meanwhile changed from inflation to contraction, and he vetoed their inflation bill. The influence of the Administration was aided by a clamor of the Eastern press for something to be done to bring in specie payment. On the other side was the popular fear of contraction, and the popularity of more money. The Republicans tried to ride both horses by embracing both inflation and specie payment in one act. This they are now constrained virtually to declare a fraud. Yet it stands a law which, without any preparation save to make the business-panic chronic by the fear of the impending and unknowable, with even a provision for preliminary inflation, prescribes that on the 1st of January, 1879, the Treasury shall begin to pay the United States notes as fast as presented, and thus shall absolutely withdraw the whole volume of the greenbacks from the circulation, and from under the vast bank circulation which rests upon them. And it is well known that this is the Secretary's understanding of the act, and that it accords with the latest phase of the President's views.

If the people were intelligent as to the nature of money, would they be captivated by this prospect? Thus, whether the law be represented as honest or as a fraud, it is a heavy load on the Republicans in this canvass. It deprives them of that upright standing which Republican intelligence and Republican honesty demand, and of that firm base which they need in order to withstand the demagogic fallacies of a party which has cast aside all its traditions, all principle, and all regard for the general welfare, in order to win the election.

REPUBLICAN.

OHIO, July 10, 1875.

Notes.

THE official report of the Beecher Trial has begun to be edited, with notes and references, by Austin Abbott, and the first volume has now appeared (Geo. W. Smith & Co.) It makes 829 pages 8vo, and ends on the seventeenth day with the conclusion of Moulton's testimony. A number of portraits and biographical sketches accompany the report, and apparently more are to come. The *Times* has, in consequence of the demand for it, thrown its review of the trial into pamphlet form, with corrections and additions.

—J. R. Osgood & Co. have in preparation for publishing in the fall 'A Bibliography of the Original Quartos and Folios of Shakspeare, with particular reference to copies in America,' by Justin Winsor, Superintendent of the Boston Public Library. This notable work is designed "to provide in a manual what cannot now be found in a single volume—a sure means of testing the genuineness and state of copies of the early quarto and folio editions," calling to the aid of the descriptive text the heliotype process of reproduction in facsimile. There will be sixty-eight illustrations of this kind, nearly one-half of which will be made directly from originals, most of these being in the famous Barton Collection of the Public Library, but some existing only in England, and being unique even there. As all other modes of facsimile have proved more or less defective (for example, the silver photographic prints made by Mr. Halliwell having faded into illegibility in twenty years), Mr. Winsor will, by way of comparison, give two heliotypes of Harris's very skilful direct, hand-wrought facsimiles, and one of Ashbee's lithographic transfers by tracing. The reading-matter will consist of the revised and recast bibliographical notes of Mr. Winsor, which have already appeared in his monthly reports, supplemented by a history of the principal collections of the quartos and folios, and a collation of opinions on the state of the text of these varieties, a review of their commercial valuation, and other interesting data. Two hundred and fifty copies quarto will be printed, after which the plates will be destroyed; and American subscriptions (at \$25 each) will be received for only one hundred and fifty, the rest of the edition being reserved for Europe. There is no need of saying that the execution of this Bibliography will be highly creditable to the author and to the institution which he so admirably conducts.

—The superiority of the heliotype, for certain purposes, to all other modes of illustration is just beginning to be recognized. We have often called attention to it, and we make Mr. Winsor's work another occasion for so doing. But we have also before us Mr. Whitmore's 'American Genealogist' (3d edition; Albany: Joel Munsell), to which the author has prefixed a heliotype portrait of himself, in order to show how cheaply the compilers of family histories can illustrate them with enduring and speaking likenesses of the persons whose lineage they record. So, too, the latest volume of *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1873-75)* is greatly enhanced in interest and value by five illustrations in heliotype. These are quite various: one being from a French caricature of the last century—an etching; another from silhouettes, drawn by shadow, of Gen. Washington and his brother John, in the second Presidency of the former; another from a page of John Adams's diary commenting on the destruction of tea in Boston harbor the night before; another from the oil painting of Gov. Christopher Gore; and the last from the original map accompanying the Zeno narrative of 1558. This is, we believe, the first employment of the heliotype process for illustrating these *Proceedings*, but we are confident that it will not be the last. A number of opportunities for its use besides those above-mentioned will occur to every reader of the present volume. To point them out would be to enter too largely into the contents, with which we must deal briefly. A discussion of the way in which slavery was abolished in Massachusetts leads to the curious conclusion that George Mason, of Virginia, was the remote occasion of it. He was the author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights adopted at Williamsburg June 12, 1776, which John Adams copied in 1779 when framing the first article of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights embodied in the Constitution of 1780. It was to this article that Chief-Justice Cushing referred as a decree of emancipation when charging the jury in 1781 to find Nathaniel Jennison guilty of assaulting Quack Walker. Had the same "glittering generality" found the same judicial interpretation and the same public opinion in Virginia, how different might have been the course of history on this continent. On page 283 there is a very suggestive letter written by the late Professor Agassiz to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop in relation to Mr. Peabody's then undetermined endowments. It marks out a scheme of popular aid to science, letters, and

art which, utopian as Agassiz himself thought it, is well worth considering as a substitute for Government patronage.

—In Massachusetts there is annually published, along with the laws of the year, commonly called the 'Blue Book,' a statement made by the Governor to the Legislature of the pardons granted during the year past, and the reasons for granting them. The 'Blue Book for 1875' has lately appeared, and an examination of the reasons assigned for the eighty-seven pardons granted during 1874 suggests some criticism which may be interesting to our readers. When a man is accused of crime, it is for a jury to say upon their oaths whether the witnesses against him deserve belief, whether their evidence, if believed, proves that he did the act charged, and whether he did it while of sound mind and responsible for his actions. It is then the duty of the presiding judge to impose sentence, in which the law often gives him a discretion, according to the aggravation of the offence as proved before him. If there have been any irregularities in the proceedings, the sentence can be reversed by a court of appeal. In each of these stages every precaution is taken to secure a just and correct result, and that result, when reached, ought, in the absence of fraud, to be final. How is it in fact? The Governor and Council of Massachusetts, it seems, feel authorized to review the evidence and find a new verdict of their own, which releases the prisoner. Thus, in case 14 of the list just cited, a pardon was granted because "the prisoner was evidently insane when the assault was committed" (a point of which the jury were clearly the best judges); and in case 50, because the "Council felt there was reason to believe" that the witnesses for the prosecution were perjured. In other words, they presumed guilt to exist in several persons who had never been convicted, in order to be able to presume innocence in one who had been convicted. Again, the pardoning body is in the habit of thinking that judges abuse their discretion in the matter of sentences. In more than a dozen cases the sentence was remitted because it "seemed too severe" (as in case 29), or because the prisoner, having served part of it, was "regarded as sufficiently punished" (as in case 40). If the judges do really err on the side of long sentences, it may be accounted for by the fact that the term is very likely to be curtailed, while it cannot be extended, by a superior power. Further, the pardoning body takes upon itself to reverse a judgment, as a court of appeal might do, if they think there is a legal error in the proceedings. In case 5 pardon was granted because of "illegality of sentence. The property stolen was less than \$100 in value, and the prisoner could not be legally sentenced for more than one year."

—In these cases pardons were granted for reasons which might legally have availed the prisoner if they had been alleged before the proper tribunal at the proper time, and then made to appear true. But the prisoner failing to satisfy the jury that he was insane, or the judge that the punishment was unduly severe, had still a chance left with the Governor's Council. In other cases the reasons alleged are no reasons at all, and could have had no possible influence with any tribunal bound to respect the law and the facts, but seem to have had their effect on a tender-hearted Governor and Council. Thus, in at least twelve cases, pardon was thought proper because when the offence was committed the prisoner was intoxicated (cases 13, 52, 53, and others). This novel and startling doctrine, that drunkenness excuses crime, is applied more especially to extenuate the crime of rape (cases 81, 62, 70). Let any one imagine the result of this new principle of the criminal law should it become generally known to the vagrants who now infest the country. Another rule of the law of pardon seems to be that when two are jointly convicted, and one is pardoned, it is but fair that the other should be let loose also. This reasoning appears to have had force in cases 38 and 83. Neither can the Governor bear the piteous sight of the parting of twin criminals convicted of the same offence. "Case 47. —Prisoner's sentence was longer than that of his brother, who was to be released Sept. 1. Prisoner was pardoned on the same day, in order that the twin brothers, who had never been separated, might leave prison together." With this conclusive reason for clemency to a thief we leave the Massachusetts Blue Book, though its treasures are far from exhausted.

—The increase of ocean travel and the costly improvements in the construction and propulsion of vessels, making their loss more serious, have had the effect of turning the attention of the travelling as well as the mercantile community to our want of accurate charts of the waters and coasts of the world. This is graphically shown by a map accompanying a paper read before the United Service Institution in England, on which the "surveyed," "partly surveyed," and "explored" coasts are shaded or colored differently. In the paper, little reference is made to surveys conducted by other than British officers, and persons unfamiliar with the subject would naturally infer that we owe the only accurate charts in existence to the efforts of the

British Government, while in fact less than one-half of the accurate charts have been constructed from English surveys. However, we are concerned here rather with the map, and a close estimate of the coast-coloring gives the following result: one-sixth surveyed, one-third partly surveyed, one-half simply explored. This does not include the polar regions nor the oceans; it comprises the frequented coasts only, where merchant-ships seek freights and men-of-war cruise. Among the coasts simply "explored" we find the western coast of South America comprised between the equator and 45° S. latitude (including Chili and Peru), almost all the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans and China seas, about one-half the western coast of Africa, almost all of the western coast of Mexico, and a large part of the eastern coasts of Asia and Africa, besides much more which it is not necessary to enumerate. Of the coasts partly surveyed, we find the remainder of South America, with slight exceptions, much of Africa, Asia, and North America, and a great part of Europe. Of the coasts said to be surveyed, only those of the British Isles, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the Baltic coasts of Russia, and the eastern coast of the United States, have been sufficiently worked over to warrant the term, although the bulk of the remainder, which is not much, may well be left until the wholly unsurveyed parts of the world are looked after.

—There is hardly an excuse for this want of accurate charts; and we will suggest a simple remedy, which we believe will find earnest advocates in the navy. In addition to the instruments forming a part of every cruiser's outfit, there should be furnished to every vessel in commission a complete set of surveying instruments. We believe this has been done in many instances. Within the limits of every foreign station there are large sections of coast-line, and numerous important and frequented ports, of which surveys are greatly needed. The whole number of vessels in commission in foreign waters is twenty-eight, of which twenty at least are admirably adapted to the work. Our national interests require that not less than this number should be retained in foreign waters, but that they should cruise from port to port with no other object than that of "showing the flag" is absurd. Every commander of a foreign station should be ordered to detail two-thirds of the force under his command for the purpose of surveying, and be held responsible for the work not only in quality but amount. In the opinion of many persons well qualified to judge, our naval vessels are better adapted to do the work on foreign stations than small vessels especially fitted for the purpose. Our naval officers are justly credited with having a higher average ability than those of any other nation; and, as regards the special branch of surveying, they are taught it at the Naval Academy, and have for many years formed the majority of those engaged in surveying our own coast, acting under the Coast Survey Office. This and many other needed reforms in a branch of the public service but little thought of and appreciated, can hardly be hoped for as long as the navy and the appropriation for its maintenance are regarded by the politician at its head and those surrounding him as legitimate means of advancing their personal aims and increasing the incomes of their friends. The cry "reduce the navy" would be changed to "increase the navy" if naval officers would strive to demonstrate their value and usefulness in peace as well as in war.

—The great age which Horace Binney had reached in a country in which longevity is popularly supposed to be uncommon, lent an interest to his closing years which otherwise they might not have had so completely. Whether this popular impression has any foundation in fact is more than doubtful, but there can be no doubt that it exists, and that where, as in Mr. Binney's case, not only was there professional and political eminence to create distinction, but a physical *tour de force* seemed to be performing itself with each succeeding year of life, the interest in the struggle between nature and his vigorous constitution annually increased. Mr. Binney died at the age of ninety-five and a half years. He had long since retired from the active practice of his profession, in which he early obtained reputation, but down to the day of his death retained his mental vigor and his influence as well. To such an extent, indeed, was this true that strangers in Philadelphia, coming there from the newer and more irreverent parts of the country, have been more surprised perhaps than by any other one thing to find the public looking up to and guiding their opinions in many matters by the advice of an old man, not actively connected either with commerce, the professions, or the "Street," not, for these days, remarkable for his wealth, and keeping his hold upon the confidence and esteem of the younger generation solely by his venerable age, unsullied reputation, and accumulated stores of wisdom. This of itself was an interesting fact in a country which we have gradually come to look upon as rather a dangerous place for the old and feeble, and

which foreigners have generally talked about as if we were likely before long to introduce the Polynesian custom of retiring the senior members of society by beating them on the head with a club. Mr. Binney has left behind him, besides his legal arguments, little to perpetuate his fame, though he took an active part in some of the important debates in Congress in the Webster-Clay-Calhoun period. His interests were chiefly professional, and his most important contribution to legal controversy was his argument in the Girard College case. When we think of the events at home and abroad which happened in his lifetime, it seems as if the mere living for ninety-five years in such a period of the world's history were action enough. Born in 1780, his life covered a space within which, jostling on each other's heels, came the separation of America and Great Britain, the formation of the United States, the meeting of the Tiers-États, the Revolution, the downfall of the French Monarchy, the Republic, the rise of Napoleon, the mighty European wars which altered the face of Europe and ended with the "Hundred Days" and the exile of the Corsican tyrant; the restoration of the Bourbons and their ruin, the Monarchy of July, the Second Republic, the Second Empire, the Third Republic, the Commune, and the humiliation of France by a power which but the day before had been a mere federation of incoherent atoms, the Septennat; the unification of Germany and of Italy. In this hundred years the commerce and habits of the world had been revolutionized by steam and the telegraph, and the country which as a young man he had seen arise out of the ashes of war, he beheld in his old age torn asunder again in the most gigantic and murderous civil war of modern times. This war, too, he saw end in secure peace, finally establishing as one of the great powers of the world a nation which at his birth hardly had an existence.

EDGAR QUINET.*

FRANCE has lost in Quinet a writer whose genius and originality have never received their due appreciation in America. His essay on the Revolution throws a flood of light on some of the aspects of its topic. The book has been published for at least ten years; it has gone through more than five French editions; its pages are marked by the intellectual and moral sincerity, the poetic insight, and the high tone of spiritual rather than religious feeling characteristic of its author; but the essay has never been translated into English, and has not excited either here or in England half as much attention as the lengthy histories in which the fanaticism of Louis Blanc vindicates the humanity of the Terrorists, or the patriotism of Thiers offers most needless flattery to the genius of France. The causes of Quinet's failure to influence the American or the English public are not far to seek. Readers trained in the traditions of English literature and politics demand, and as a rule quite rightly demand, in their instructors what may be called the manner of good sense. Unfortunately, the salutary feeling in favor of plain, direct writing leads readers to fancy that nothing can be true which is not expressed in the form of commonplace, and that it is of even more consequence that an author should write sensibly than that he should write good sense. This sentiment or prejudice is constantly outraged by Quinet. A good deal of his essay reads like a series of detached epigrams and exclamations suggested by the events of the Revolution, and it needs both some insight and, still more, some sympathy with the writer to perceive that these sharp-cut, detached sentences embody a systematic view of the Revolutionary history, and that epigrams and exclamations often contain in a few words the results of long study and patient thought.

Nor is Quinet's mode of thought calculated to obtain from the mass of English readers that kind of sympathy which may remove the offence caused by his style. He represents a type of feeling and belief out of keeping with the tone both of the Liberalism and of the Conservatism which prevail in the nineteenth century. The central article of his creed is faith in spiritual and intellectual freedom. For material well-being and for schemes of which material prosperity is the main object, he cares as little as for the impressiveness of mere historical associations. The criterion by which the success or failure of a revolution must in his view be tested is the answer to the question, Has it freed the spirit of man? This is the test which he constantly in one form or another applies first to the Reformation and next to the Revolution. The result of its application in the hands of a man so clear-sighted and honest as Quinet could not be doubtful. The Reformation stands, the Revolution does not stand, his criterion. With all its defects and all its shortcomings, Protestantism wrought a great deliverance for the nations of Europe. With all its promise and with all its efforts, the Revolution has wrought no spiritual deliverance for France. Quinet saw this, and, with an honesty difficult for a Frenchman to practise, boldly pro-

claimed to his countrymen that the Reformation had succeeded and the Revolution had hitherto ended in failure. This honesty and clear-sightedness would have been remarkable in an enemy of the Revolution. It is still more remarkable in a man like Quinet, filled with the keenest sympathy for the revolutionary efforts. The very love of spiritual freedom which made him deplore the failure of the Revolution to emancipate the spirit of France, made it impossible for him to deny how great at the outbreak of the Revolution was the need for freedom of all kinds, and how noble were the aspirations of the generation who believed themselves called upon to regenerate mankind. It is this sympathy with the higher objects of the revolutionary movement, combined with a profound consciousness of its failure to obtain them, which gives the special merit to Quinet's essay. He more nearly than any other writer with whom we are acquainted avoids the characteristic errors at once of English and of French critics of the Revolution. He does not on the one hand fall into the delusion originated by Burke and propagated by later writers without half his excuse, that a gigantic movement in which not France alone but the whole civilized world took more or less part, could be accounted for as an outbreak of human wickedness, violence, and folly. On the other hand, he refuses to exculpate the crimes of revolutionists or to indulge in the natural but harmful delusion that it cannot be that a movement which caused so much suffering should have failed in attaining the objects which alone made the suffering worth endurance. Hence Quinet, at any rate, perceives that the true problem presented by the Revolution to historical students is, how did it happen that a great movement, aiming at worthy objects, guided by men of genius, and commanding the sympathy of the civilized world, has ended in failure?

To say that Quinet has supplied a complete answer to the riddle which was the constant occupation of his thoughts is to attribute to him a success which no one thinker has yet achieved, and which probably is unattainable. Nor can it be asserted that he has not, in the treatment of his great subject, fallen at times into errors peculiar to himself. But candid students who have not only read but have reflected on Quinet's work, will admit that he has thrown a flood of light on his subject, has dispelled inveterate traditional errors, and has called attention to aspects of history which have escaped even the acute analysis of such a writer as De Tocqueville. Quinet, in fact, deals successfully with exactly that side of history to which De Tocqueville, with all his acuteness, was, to speak the truth, blind. The author of the 'Ancien Régime' weighed and measured the political, the social, and, so to speak, material influences which both led to the revolutionary outbreak and influenced the course of the movement. But the religious aspect of the Revolution more or less escaped him. He saw that the church of the *ancien régime* differed in many respects from the church of modern France. He perceived that material causes had led in part to a change in moral character. All that he saw was true; but it was not the whole truth, or the most important part of the truth. He did not see that there was an inconsistency between the spirit of Catholicism and the spirit of liberty. Devoted to freedom and devoted to the Catholic religion, the genius of De Tocqueville blundered at once in the domain of speculation as in the domain of practical politics. The man who opposed the Empire and abetted the expedition to Rome was naturally unable to perceive that one of the rocks on which the revolutionist made shipwreck was the inherent impossibility of establishing political freedom without carrying out a religious reformation. This idea which escaped De Tocqueville is the fact which haunted the imagination of Quinet. Half at least of the revolutionary errors originated, as he points out, in the inability of the revolutionists either to realize the nature of the "religious difficulty" or to suggest any mode of removing it. The assertion that men who seemed at one moment about to overthrow Christianity itself were timid innovators in matters of religion, appears at first sight a hopeless paradox. Few readers of Quinet will doubt that the apparent paradox is the summary statement of an indubitable fact. The revolutionists, from Mirabeau down to Robespierre, always hesitated to touch even in the least point matters of dogma. Under the easy pretence that "fanaticism was dead," as Robespierre stated at the very moment when a religious war was desolating La Vendée, they preached the doctrine, and to a certain extent practised it, that religious dogmas were unworthy of the attention of a statesman. To proclaim that Protestantism was a belief more compatible with freedom than Catholicism was, in their view, at once to show an unphilosophic interest in contemptible points of theological difference, and to exhibit an unstatesmanlike rashness in offending the prejudices of women and peasants.

The ground of this view is not hard to find. Men of all parties, Burke no less than Robespierre, shared the belief that there was no essential difference between the various forms of Christianity. The one might draw from

this the inference that all religions were equally admirable, and the other that they were all equally contemptible. But that specific theological belief should influence decisively the course of national politics was an idea almost foreign to the men of the eighteenth century, who looked with philosophic calmness on the follies and fanaticism of the Reformation. This view of the insignificance of theological differences was closely connected with the belief that the mere proclamation of toleration for all creeds would without further effort remove every religious difficulty out of the path of statesmen. When facts showed that the enunciation of the doctrine of religious freedom would not work the miracles which it was supposed to be capable of effecting, the revolutionary leaders were at their wit's end. Persecutions, proscriptions, enforced oaths of allegiance, massacres of priests, desperate efforts to set up the worship of Reason, are all signs of the incapacity and violence of men who had met with an obstacle which they were unprepared to remove, because they had fancied it did not exist. To encourage actively a married priesthood, to introduce any scheme of reformed belief, to adopt Protestantism, and thus break finally with Rome, were measures which required a boldness and statesmanship not to be found in any one of the heroes of the Revolution. They guillotined priests because they did not know how to attack the spiritual foundations of hierarchical power. Nor, on the other hand, had the revolutionists that unwavering faith in the efficacy of freedom to remove all prejudices which might have enabled them to give at any rate a fair trial to the principles of toleration. Their fundamental want was a lack of belief in spiritual influences. They neither dared, like the Reformers, to proclaim "the truth," and enforce it at all risks, nor had they the faith of philosophers which might tolerate difference in the belief that perfect freedom would produce the victory of truth. The consequence was that, as Quinet points out, the revolutionists had the maxims of toleration on their lips, whilst their actual policy was a policy of cruel and aimless persecution. They incurred, therefore, all the odium due to persecutors without effecting any such revolution of national sentiment as persecution has sometimes indubitably produced.

That the revolutionists were utterly incapable of dealing with the religious difficulty, and that this difficulty was one which, grounded as it is in the opposition between Roman Catholicism and modern conceptions of freedom, no skill could elude, is as certain as any fact of history. To have shown the importance of this fact, and to have insisted on the necessity of recognizing it, is the great service which Quinet has rendered both to historical students and to practical statesmen. It would, however, be unfair both to Quinet himself and to his critics to conceal the fact that one great object of his historical speculation is to enforce a view as to the mode of carrying out religious reformation which is clearly intimated in the following characteristic sentences:

"Under the Christian emperors, when the moment came for snatching the people of Egypt from the religion of the Pharaohs, the whole nation stood in wavering uncertainty around the temples. A centurion stepped forth from the crowd, and with his hammer struck the first blow at the temple of Isis. The crowd followed, and finished what the centurion had begun. From that moment Egypt belonged to the modern world. The French Revolution lacked such a centurion."

The parable hardly needs explanation. The crowd, according to Quinet, never initiate a reform. They know the truth when it is proclaimed, and follow it. But it must be proclaimed in order that it may be known. There comes, moreover, a time when error must be treated as error. It is no good to talk of toleration at the commencement of a reform. The first step is to denounce falsehood. The centurion must strike even the temple.

The end of an article is not the place in which to examine Quinet's views on the relation between reform and toleration. His zeal for truth indubitably betrays him at times into something very like a defence of persecution. But it would take a very unfair opponent to deny that the fundamental sentiment of Quinet's writings is zeal for truth and a hatred of all attempts to suppress spiritual freedom by means of material force. The massacre of St Bartholomew, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the conversions enforced by dragoons, all the persecutions by which Protestantism was rooted out of France, are as hateful to him as the massacres at Lyons or the Noyades at Nantes, by which France was deprived of almost every chance of ever establishing the rule of rational freedom and just law. What he hates is not toleration, but that sort of sham religious liberty which, in the name of liberty, enables its sworn foes to root out all spiritual freedom. What he detests even more, and with even better reason, is the various pretences under which men proclaim with more or less circumlocution that in matters of religion there is no such thing as truth or falsehood. Quinet's protests, it must be remembered, against the false liberalism which veiled itself under the show of facile toleration, were uttered at a time when

French liberals thought they could find in the Roman hierarchy an ally in their struggle with imperial despotism, and statesmen thought that all religious difficulties might be met by the formula, "A free church in a free state." Quinet's policy may be mistaken, but credit for foresight at least must be given to the prophet who foresaw in 1865 the perils to freedom which in 1875 tax to the utmost all the skill and boldness of practical statesmen.

RICHARD WAGNER.*

IT has always been a matter of surprise to us, in view of the undeniable and widespread interest which the musical works of Richard Wagner have excited in this country, that so little has been done towards making us acquainted with the literary and philosophical side of this composer. We have heretofore been content to take him too much for granted as an original and daring thinker, without troubling ourselves about what his original and daring thoughts were. His more important theoretical and controversial writings have now been quite long enough before the world to excite the curiosity, if nothing better, of our music-loving public, but we fancy that very few of us know more than their titles. This may be easily explained by the difficulty of Wagner's German, but that nobody should have yet given in a translation some of Wagner's writings is not so easily explained. His 'Beethoven' has been translated in America, to be sure, but the 'Beethoven' is one of the most abstruse works on æsthetic metaphysics that exist in any language, and can hardly be expected to serve as a favorable introduction to Wagner's art-philosophy. Mr. Burlingame's 'Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner' is, therefore, very welcome. It is a translation of very judicious selections from Wagner's prose works, omitting his longer theoretical essays, but giving just enough to make the reader familiar with the author's life and habitual cast of thought.

One of the pet ideas in this country as well as in England seems to be that Wagner has written all his music on a new system, which he had previously painfully thought out according to newly-discovered metaphysical and philosophical laws. Yet we now find Wagner himself saying:

"The Flying Dutchman," 'Tannhäuser,' and 'Lohengrin' were written by me, their music composed, and all (with the exception of 'Lohengrin') performed upon the stage before the composition of my theoretical writings. I might therefore show you in them (if it were entirely possible from the nature of the subject) the course of development of my artistic production up to that point where I saw myself called upon to account to myself theoretically for my method of procedure. But I only mention this to call your attention to the error that has been committed in believing, with regard to these three works, that they were purposely composed according to the abstract rules I had laid down. Let me tell you rather that my boldest conclusions concerning the possible form of the musical drama were forced upon me by the fact that I was, at the very time I made them, carrying in my brain the plan of my great drama of the 'Nibelungen,' for a great part of which I had even written the poetry; and I had so developed it that my theory was little else than an abstract expression of the productive process that had formulated itself within me."

He has also been held up to public execration as the annihilator of melody; as a man whose own melodic impotence (so to speak) had led him to defame melody as frivolous and beneath the notice of thinking men, much as a certain fox despised certain grapes. But here we find him saying: "Let us establish first of all the fact that the *one true form of music is melody*; that without melody music is inconceivable; and that music and melody are inseparable. That a piece of music has *no melody* can therefore only mean that the musician has not attained to the real formation of an effective form that can have a decisive influence upon the feelings, which simply shows the absence of talent in the composer—his want of originality compelling him to make up his piece from hackneyed melodic phrases to which the ear is utterly indifferent." This certainly presents Wagner in a light new to many of us.

The most important chapters in Mr. Burlingame's book are undoubtedly the "Music of the Future" (which, by the way, must not be confounded with Wagner's much longer and more detailed essay, "Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft," which made so much noise on its first appearance in Germany), the "Purpose of the Opera," and the extracts from a letter on "Musical Criticism." Although these selections are far less exhaustive of the subject, and from a literary point of view inferior to Wagner's longer theoretical essays, such as "The Work-of-Art of the Future," "Art and the Revolution," and his "A Communication to my Friend," not to speak of his "Opera and Drama," they are most judicious for Mr. Burlingame's purpose, which seems to be to give the American reader a sufficiently comprehensive, bird's-eye view of Wagner's life and art-theories. The chapter on

the production of "Tannhäuser" in Paris is interesting, inasmuch as it lets the reader into the secrets of dramatic success in the French capital, and shows by what a thread a composer's popularity may at times hang. Though a one-sided, it is nevertheless a perfectly credible account of the so-called failure of the opera in Paris. After speaking of the various demonstrations made by the audience on the opening night, Wagner goes on to say:

"The behavior of the audience on the evening of the second performance proved to me that I had not been mistaken in considering the result of this first evening to be a complete success; for by this it was decided with what opposition I was to have to deal in future—namely, with that of the Paris Jockey Club, which I am certainly authorized to name thus plainly, since the audience itself openly pointed out my opponents by the cry 'à la porte les jockeys.' The members of this club, whose right to consider themselves lords of the Grand Opera I need not now explain to you more fully, and who felt themselves deeply injured at the absence of the customary ballet at the time of their entrance to the theatre (about the middle of the performance), perceived with disgust that 'Tannhäuser' had not failed at its first reception after all, but had really won a triumph. From this time forth it became their business to prevent this balletless opera from being presented to them evening after evening; and for this purpose they had provided themselves, on the way from their dinner to the opera, with a quantity of hunting-whistles and similar instruments, with which they began, immediately upon their entrance, to operate against the 'Tannhäuser' in the most shameless manner. Until that time (that is, during the first and up to nearly the middle of the second act) not a trace of opposition had made itself felt; and continued applause had accompanied unhindered those passages of my opera that had most quickly become favorites. But from this point no further demonstrations of applause assisted me; in vain did the Emperor and Empress themselves a second time demonstrate their appreciation of my work. The irrevocable condemnation of the 'Tannhäuser' had been spoken by those who regarded themselves as masters of the theatre, and who all belonged to the highest aristocracy of France. Up to the very end of the piece, whistles and pipes accompanied every attempt at applause on the part of the audience."

The chapters on the "Love Veto," "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven," and "An End in Paris," throw a good deal of welcome light upon the composer's earlier life up to the time when he wrote his first grand opera, "Rienzi." The "Pilgrimage" and the "End in Paris," although insignificant enough as works of fiction, are pleasing from the frank, outspoken, youthful enthusiasm for what is high and noble with which they are filled. Now and then a touch of welcome wit or humor relieves their sombre grimness of purpose; but upon the whole they are little better than callow attempts at story-writing. We cannot, however, quite pass them by without a certain degree of interest when we think what want and suffering prompted the young author's pen. The two chapters on the performance of the "Freischütz" in Paris, and particularly the second, are excellent examples of Wagner's caustic wit and unsparing sarcasm. The chapters on the "Opera-House at Bayreuth" have a special interest now, and the "Legend of the Nibelungen" is a clear and concise narration of the somewhat complex plot of Wagner's great trilogy. The chapter of autobiography needs no comment.

Mr. Burlingame's translation is unusually good. When we consider the difficulty of rendering Wagner into intelligible English at all, we must give the translator the highest praise. His task has, indeed, been an exceptionally hard one. The book ends with a catalogue of the composer's published works and a very convenient index of names of noted men and places mentioned in the book.

The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha: from the Chinese Sanskrit. By Samuel Beal. (London: Trübner & Co. 1875.)—This is not exactly a work to be classed with summer reading, but its romantic character invests it with many of the attractions of a novel, and not a few may find it much more enchainning than the tales which they take from the circulating library. A more agreeable introduction to the knowledge of a great religion and of the life of its founder could hardly be expected. The Oriental fault of repetition and exaggeration, pruned as it has here been by Mr. Beal, whose convenient "etc." slaughters whole pages of verbiage, is but a slight drawback to the pleasure one gets from the general narrative and from the numerous parables and histories, of truly Indian conceit; and it must of course be duly weighed in forming a just apprehension of Buddhism. The translator thinks that "the interest of the book will be found to result, not from any critical studies (which I would fain have attempted) found herein, but from the stories which throw light on contemporaneous architectural works in India"; and he accordingly makes frequent references to the plates in "Tree and Serpent Worship." The theological student will find in the preface and in the appendix an enumeration of some of the points in which

* "Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner. Selected from his writings and translated by Edward L. Burlingame." New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1875.

there is an external resemblance between Christianity and Buddhism. The question of precedence is broached, but not for argument or settlement.

The interest of the story of Buddha increases as it approaches the end, for it is there that one sees the founder compelled to restrain his followers with prohibitions and injunctions, all tending to build up an orthodox ceremonial and usage which would not have arisen from the mere preaching of the law. One of the most amusing chapters is that which tells of Buddha's attempt under difficulties to convert the unwilling and worldly Nanda, who, after he is "roped in," very much as the curious visitor to the camp-meeting is got in spite of himself on the anxious seat, makes a series of fruitless attempts to leave the brotherhood, each of which leads to a fresh rule of conduct from the founder; as, "From this time forth, let no Bhikshu presume to wear a garment of the same size as mine; or if he does, let him be dealt with as the law directs!" And again: "Brethren! from henceforth let none of my disciples wear a decorated robe, or use any unguents, or lightly hold his pātra, and so go a-begging; whoever commits himself thus, let him be dealt with according to the law." We are tempted, on account of its *naïveté*, to give one of these incidents entire:

"Nevertheless, Nanda, though obliged to give up his beautiful robe and the other personal adornments we have named, could not forget the joys of his royal home and the delight afforded him by the company of Sundari; and so all day long in his retreat he did nothing but draw the figure of his sweetheart on a fragment of a tile, with a burnt piece of stick as a pencil, and delight himself with gazing at her from morning till night. Then Buddha, having been acquainted with the circumstance, assembled the Bhikshus, and solemnly warned them against any such misconduct as this, and forbade it under penalty of expulsion from the community."

There are numerous passages which we should like to quote for their beauty, like that telling of the thirty young men in search of a dancing-girl who had stolen off from one of their number in the night, with the jewels and other light property of the party. They come suddenly upon Buddha under a tree, and are startled into conversion by the Socratic or Christian enquiry: "Whether is it better, think you, to find yourselves, or to find this woman whom ye seek?" They replied: "It would certainly be better

to find ourselves." This, too, may be cited for its delicacy. A woman has just brought the tidings of the birth of Sākya Buddha:

"At this time the great minister Basita loosed from his neck the string of precious stones that he wore, and gave it to the woman, because of the news she brought; but having done so, again he thought, 'This woman, perhaps, is a favorite of the king, and his majesty, seeing her so beautifully adorned, will naturally enquire and find out where those pearls were obtained, and so it will cause trouble.' So he took back the gems, and desired that whatever merit would have attached to the gift might redound to the woman's benefit."

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Abbott (A.), Beecher Trial, official report, Vol. I.	(Geo. W. Smith & Co.)
Avon (S.), Lieferungs-Geschäfte und kaufmännische Schwindel, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Bar (Dr. L. von), Das deutsche Reichsgericht, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Bastian (Dr. H. C.), Paralysis from Brain Disease.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
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Hall (Maj. H. B.), The Erie-brac Hunter.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
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SCHOOLS, &c.

Continued from Page iii.

DETROIT FEMALE SEMINARY (Incorporated 1853.) Fall term commences Sept. 7. For Board of Instruction and full information, address Mrs. TOWLE, Principal, Detroit, Mich.

DE VEAUX COLLEGE, Suspension Bridge, N. Y., prepares for the Universities, etc. Christmas half begins Sept. 1. Rev. GEO. HERBERT PATTERSON, Pres.

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HOME AND DAY SCHOOL, Boston Highlands, Mass. Miss Hall will reopen her school for Young Ladies, Sept. 27, at 55 St. James Street. Four home-pupils are received. References: Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Rev. S. W. Bush.

HOME SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.—Opens September 6. Rev. F. A. ROBINSON, Goshen, N. Y.

HOME SCHOOL for Boys.—Opens August 25, 1875. Rev. AMBROSE RONDTHALER, Bethlehem, Pa.

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LAW SCHOOL, Harvard University.—The academic year 1875-76 will begin on Thursday, September 30. An examination for admission to advanced standing will be held on Thursday, September 30, and Friday, October 1, beginning at 9 A.M. on Thursday. No applicant will be examined at any other time. At the beginning of the academic year 1875-76, and afterwards, all applicants for admission as candidates for a degree who have not received a college education will be required to pass a preliminary examination. For further information, and for a circular giving full particulars, address JOHN H. ARNOLD, Librarian, Cambridge, Mass.

LAW SCHOOL of the University of the City of New York.—Nineteenth annual session begins Oct. 4, 1875. Students have free access to the law collections of the school and the Astor Library, and to all lectures of the Medical College. For circulars, etc., apply to W. R. MARTIN, 141 Broadway; or D. R. JACQUES, Secretary, 25 Chambers Street.

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MISS E. BOWEN'S FAMILY SCHOOL for six Young Ladies, at Woodstock, Conn., will commence its eighth year Oct. 6. Circulars furnished.

MISS MEEKER'S FRENCH AND English Boarding School for Young Ladies will reopen on Tuesday, Sept. 22, at 56 Washington Street, Norwich, Conn.

MISS JAUDON'S English, French, and German Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies, 32 East Thirty-first Street, New York, will reopen Sept. 23. Scholars in Kindergarten Department limited to eighteen. Address Miss JAUDON, Prospect House, Princeton, Mass., till Sept. 12; afterwards at her residence, 32 East 31st St., N. Y.

MISS E. J. MACKIE'S Family School for Young Ladies, Newburgh, N. Y., re-opens Sept. 16.

MISS MARY E. STEVENS'S, formerly Miss Mary E. Aertsen and Miss Mary E. Stevens's, Boarding and Day School, West Chelton Avenue, Germantown, Pa. School will reopen September 16, 1875.

MISS RANNEY'S BOARDING and DAY School for Young Ladies, Elizabeth, N. J., will be reopened on Wednesday, September 15.

MISS ROBERTSON'S Family Church School for Girls, Wilmington, Delaware, reopens Sept. 15.

MORAVIAN SEMINARY for Young Ladies, Hope, Bartholomew Co., Ind. Rev. F. R. HOLLAND, Principal. The school-year is as follows: 1st term, Sept. 1 to Feb. 1; 2nd term, Feb. 1 to June 28.

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NESHANIC (N. J.) INSTITUTE.—Collegiate School for Boys. Rev. D. OAKLEY, Prin. Sept. 15.

NEW BRITAIN (Conn.) SEMINARY for Young Ladies. Address D. N. CAMP, Prin. Autumn term begins Sept. 7.

NEWBURGH INSTITUTE.—A Family School for Boys—will reopen Sept. 11. For circulars, address HENRY W. SIGLAR, Newburgh, N. Y.

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